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VI.—GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE ANDHRA STATE BILL, 1953—*cont.*

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome this Bill and I think everyone in this House supports it wholeheartedly. But there are certain details that have to be discussed. I wish the Hon. the Chief Minister had enlightened us on the discussion carried on in the Cabinet for a number of days on this subject. Perhaps he may come to that point when we discuss the Bill clause by clause.

“ Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has compared the formation of the Andhra State to the attainment of the Independence of India and has asked us to be very happy about it. I do not know if he has compared this House to the House of Commons. Whatever that may be, his whole attitude to this Bill is that it is a very simple Bill. The Hon. the Chief Minister should have enlightened this House on the recommendations and suggestions he has made to the Government of India. During an interview granted to a Press correspondent, when a question was put to him about the draft Andhra State Bill, he was not willing to speak out. He simply said, ‘ There is nothing very wonderful in the Bill. This is just like division of territory, personnel of services, debts, assets, etc.’ When the Press correspondent asked the Chief Minister whether it was so simple as that, he was pleased to say that it was as simple as hanging a man. Sir, this is really a very amazing attitude. We would like to know from the Hon. the Chief Minister whether the formation of the Andhra State is going to have all the repercussions of a man being hanged. When we discuss this Bill, we have got to see what is going to happen next. What everyone wants in connection with the formation of the Andhra State is that a good Government should be formed. Whether a good Government is going to be formed or not no doubt lies in the hands of the people. But the powers that are shaping the destiny of the Andhra State, I am afraid, are not willing to see that a good Government is formed in the Andhra State. So, as a politician when the Hon. Chief Minister says that it is a business like the business of hanging a man, he means that we are going to hang ourselves. That is a serious warning to the Andhra State and to the Residuary State as well. The formation of the State is now a foregone conclusion. But what the people really want is a good Government. We have to concentrate on it when we discuss this Bill and we have got to work for it. Therefore, the message which we have got to send to the Parliament is that they should not interfere in the formation of the Government of the Andhra State and that the people would like to make their own choice in getting a good Government. Now, there are a number of hindrances to this. I consider the present Madras Government will be a hindrance to the formation of a good Government in the Andhra State. I also consider that the Congress Party itself and the powers in Delhi will be a hindrance to it. All these hindrances must be removed. While we recommend the introduction of this Bill in Parliament,

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we would say, 'Take off your hands from the affairs of the Andhra State and do not manoeuvre to see that some dictatorial Government is set up by getting some men into the Andhra Cabinet by backdoor methods.'

11-20 a.m. "When the Andhra leaders have sacrificed so much and when they have done a great deal for the formation of the Andhra State, the people of Andhra have got every right to demand a good form of Government for the Andhra State. Let not their sacrifices and their dreams be set at naught. When the provisions of this Bill are put into effect, let us not be lulled into a sort of complacency. Let it not be said, 'Well, here you have got your State which you wanted. Be content with that.' Everyone of us on this side of the House feel that we must have a Government that will be able to solve the food and unemployment problems."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I fix a time-limit of 15 minutes for each hon. Member."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—"Even before the Andhra State is formed, happy state of affairs must exist. But it does not exist. Certain incidents have taken place which we must take note of. While the great man, Sri Potti Sriramulu, sacrificed his life for the birth of the Andhra State, a number of innocent people are being prosecuted. I want to ask, whether this Government is genuinely interested in the formation of the State. I want them to stop prosecuting people in the manner in which they are being prosecuted now. I know that these prosecutions are being carried on even in my town, Kakinada. Some important personages, who were not previously informed of the promulgation of the order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, have been prosecuted for defying this order. If the Government have a real love for the Andhra State and if they are really interested in its formation, will they go on prosecuting and trying the citizens of Andhra Desa for violating this law or that law, especially when they, the people of Andhra, are deeply moved at the death of their revered leader, Potti Sriramulu? I would earnestly advise this Government to straightaway stop these prosecutions at different places of Andhra, including Kakinada. Thus, things are not moving happily. The Chief Minister says, 'Hang yourself! You have got your Andhra State.'

"Now, let us look at the food problem of the Andhra area as a whole. Hundreds of thousands of tons of foodgrains are being exported from Andhra districts. In the last six months or so, I have corresponded with the Government requesting them to open fair price shops and to take steps to redress the suffering of the people."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"On a point of order, Sir, I am afraid even given the greatest relaxation, my hon. Friend is going out of the subject. He is discussing the import and export of foodgrains. Certainly, I cannot reply to those things now. Again, he is referring to prosecutions in Kakinada and other places. I am afraid these references are a little bit irrelevant."

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MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member confine his remarks to the subject under discussion."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, my remarks have got everything to do with the creation of the Andhra State."

MR. SPEAKER :—" No. Let the hon. Member strictly confine his remarks to the subject before the House."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" I will confine my remarks to the subject before the House, Sir. If the present Government are really interested in the happiness of the Andhra people, I would like their actions and deeds also to conform to that. I am suggesting that their actions and deeds do not conform to that. We do want that the Andhra people should have a good Government. That is the object of this Bill. While this Bill is before the House, the present Government should not have done certain things. For example, they have floated a loan to the extent of Rs. 5 crores, which has got something to do with the Andhra State."

MR. SPEAKER :—" What has that got to do with the subject under discussion now?"

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" As far as my information goes, I understand that the Government have sent out circulars to their officers asking them to postpone certain works to a future date. These could have been settled even now and need not wait for the formation of the Andhra State. My charge against this Government is this. They somehow or other want to make the Andhra State a bankrupt State. They should not do that. Well, there are three more months in which the present Government can interfere with the affairs of the Andhra State. So these matters are quite relevant to the subject. If we do not voice our protest in respect of these matters, we will be in a sorry state of affairs. The present Government should not interfere with the choice of the type of cabinet that the Andhra State should have. They should not interfere with the affairs of the Andhra people. This is all what I am driving at. We, Members of this House, while supporting this Bill wholeheartedly, have grave apprehensions regarding certain clauses found in the Bill. No doubt, they will come up for discussion at a later stage.

" With regard to the seventh schedule which deals with the division of assets and liabilities, I feel that the present Government of Madras must have had a hand in drafting that schedule. The Hon. Chief Minister himself admitted that he was in correspondence with the Centre. The Hon. Mr. Subramaniam has also admitted this in a statement in which he said that ' the Bill is under examination in connection with the division of assets and liabilities, sharing of debts and loans and other financial dispositions.' The important aspect in the Bill is this Seventh Schedule. Under this Schedule, the residuary State would like to benefit itself as much as possible. This Government should have adopted an impartial attitude. On the other hand, they are shoving responsibility on the shoulders of the Central Government. They simply say, ' It is the Centre that has

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to decide. Everything is in the hands of the Central Government. We have nothing to do with it.' The real state of affairs is not that. It is this Government that decide issues relating to the division of assets and liabilities.

11-30
a.m.

"There is also another issue, which some Members feel, should not have cropped up while discussing this Bill. That is the issue of capital. The issue of capital is relevant for discussion now. The ruling party has decided the capital and the power at Delhi has drafted this Bill. They should not have included Kurnool here."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—"Please allow me two more minutes."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I am sorry I cannot. There are many more Members who want to participate in the discussion."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome this Bill for the formation of the Andhra State. It is the result of a long agitation by Andhras for self-determination in the affairs of the country. While speaking on the Bill, I am going to concentrate only upon one aspect of it and leave the rest to others who are more interested in other aspects of the Bill. I will concentrate more upon the boundary issue, particularly upon the dispute that is going on between Tamils and Andhras with regard to particular places. The State to be formed should be formed on the basis of language and no Tamilian will have any dispute if all the Andhra districts are clubbed together and a State is formed in that way. But our quarrel with this Bill is that a district like Chittoor which has been considered from the day when it was formed as a bilingual area is now erroneously classified as an undisputed Telugu area. I would like to take this House back to the history of the formation of this district. The district was formed in the year 1911 by the then British Government more for administrative convenience rather than on the basis of linguistic considerations. In those days the superannuated British officials used to be tacked on to this district which was a well-meaning district with no crimes or other troubles. The district was formed taking away three purely Telugu taluks from Cuddapah, namely, Vayalpad, Madanapalle and Punganur, and six purely Tamil taluks like Tiruttani, Puttur, Chittoor, Chandragiri, Kalahasti and Palmaner and one zamin, Kuppam. (An hon. Member: 'Hear, hear.') My friends here are tempted to hail my speech when they hear that these are Tamil taluks. I say Andhras have contaminated these taluks with the result that they have been made to look like Telugu taluks."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"I take strong objection to the word 'contaminated' used by Mr. K. Vinayakam. He need not contaminate his speech in that way."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—"I would like to explain why I used such a strong term as that."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ On the question raised as to parliamentary language, I am sure the hon. Member meant ‘ infiltrated ’ and not ‘ contaminated ’.”

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker took the Chair.)

* **SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—**“ Sir, you must bear in mind that two Members preceding me have taken some of my time. I meant contamination in the real sense of the term. The Tamil population in these taluks was gradually converted for all practical purposes into Telugus and the whole population looks Telugu. First, the administrative authorities there closed all Tamil schools. When the Justice Party came to power, almost all the Chief Ministers were Telugus; to name some of them, the Raja of Panagal, Mr. B. Munuswami Naidu, Sir K. V. Reddi and the Raja of Bobbili. These gentlemen, who happened to be Telugus, had always a soft corner for this district and two of them actually came from my district of Chittoor. The result was Tamil culture was slowly killed. Hero Hitler of Germany used to say : ‘ If you want to kill a nation, you must first kill their language.’ The same tactics were adopted by the then ruling party as far as Chittoor was concerned. Then they posted Telugu officials to these Tamil parts and these officials who had acquaintance only with Telugu were putting questions to the Tamil population there only in Telugu.”

* **THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—**“ With your permission, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I must make an appeal to the hon. Member. We have decided to have the partition. We are discussing a Bill which has been drafted and revised by the Government of India. In the first part of the discussion we are dealing with general matters. The hon. Member may be aware that we are moving an amendment to be sent up to the Centre for the appointment of a boundary commission. Discussion on that amendment could cover some of the points mentioned now by the hon. Member. But it is not only that that I wish to say. I think the line he is taking is very unhappy. It is not necessary to go into that aspect of the matter. There are complaints and counter-complaints. I make an appeal that we must part after a sweet discussion.”

* **SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—**“ I cannot understand why the Government or the Members interested in the Andhra Bill should take objection if I narrate the history of the Chittoor district. After all it is a history of how the Tamilians were slowly made to appear as Telugus in my parts.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ It is a very good thing.”

* **SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—**“ The result was that the Tamil population got slowly adjusted to the Telugu officials who were posted there. Even a small registration record had to be written in Telugu so as to suit the convenience of the Telugu sub-registrars posted to those parts. Census figures were also prepared on an erroneous conception. For instance, some classes like Vanniyakula Kshatriyas, who were purely Tamil in outlook, culture and language, are now

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known as Reddis in those parts. The Telugu officials who went there to collect census figures have classified these Tamilians as Telugus simply because they were called Reddis. I have myself been classified like that. Even those who were known as Adi-Dravidas, who talk pure Tamil in their homes, are now known as Malas and Madigas simply because, to suit the convenience of their landlords, they speak Telugu. It is these erroneous calculations that have made up the figures of Telugus in those parts. I shall quote only one instance to prove this. Take the Tiruttani taluk. In the year 1931, the Tamil population there was 75 per cent. In the 1941 census it was reduced to 51 per cent and in 1951 it came down to 49 per cent. From 75 it has come down to 49 per cent. Does this mean that the Tamil population has migrated from those parts or does it mean that the powers of procreation of Tamilians are much less when compared to the Telugus? On the other hand, the figures regarding Andhras are steadily increasing. It does not mean that Telugus have come into those parts in larger numbers. It is all the mischief committed by those officials that have given a wrong impression to the Government about population. They always believe, when the name of Chittoor is mentioned, that it is a Telugu area. On the other hand, it is a bilingual area and that is the only point that I wish to bring to the notice of the House.

11-40
a.m.

“Sir, when the question of the division of our State on the linguistic basis was brought in, we the Tamils living in these parts protested against the inclusion of these areas in the Andhra State and made our views very clear and also brought to the notice of the Provincial Government that in the event of the formation of the Andhra State, the Tamil areas of this district should be tacked on to the Tamil State. We represented through mass meetings, conferences, and petitions and submitted our views even to Justice Wanchoo who visited this City. We did not get a favourable reply then though Mr. Wanchoo wisely suggested that these disputes regarding Tamil area must be settled either by the appointment of a Boundary Commission or by holding a plebiscite. But what did we see in the declaration of the Prime Minister in Parliament. He has classified this district as a purely undisputed Telugu area. He has clubbed this district along with districts like Visakhapatnam, Guntur and West Godavari. Even if a Boundary Commission is appointed in the future, usually presided over by a judicial officer, what will that Commission say when we ask them to go and enquire into the dispute. They will naturally turn round and say that the Commission has no jurisdiction over the district which has been declared as an undisputed Telugu district. Even the future Andhra State will be reluctant to bring the case under the purview of the Commission.

“In order to prevent such a trouble arising, we started a mild agitation. First we protested against the inclusion of the district in the undisputed parts. We waited for a favourable reply from the Centre. We represented our grievances to the Provincial Government also. We sent a memorandum to the Central Government but with no use. Then naturally, people guided by good

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motives, started a civil disobedience movement. They picketed before the Government offices. Then the movement assumed larger proportions and went beyond the control of even the leaders of the movement. People began to stop trains by pulling alarm chains. Trains were even stopped by people lying on the rail roads. Of course we objected to these things. We took strong objection to such actions and the misuse of our noble intentions. I declare here that these were not our intentions to disobey the laws of the land. But you know, Sir, that in a mass movement such things are likely to happen. The Press Statement of the Prime Minister has come in good time. He has now unequivocally and without an iota of doubt, declared that a Boundary Commission will be appointed to go into the question of the dispute in Chittoor district, which he did not make very clear in his first statement. He has now clearly accepted that this district is a disputed district and a Boundary Commission will be asked to go into the question of such disputed areas.

“ Sir, we have come to a happy conclusion with the statement of the Hon. Chief Minister of this State when he said he would withdraw all criminal proceedings instituted so far and such of those who were jailed would be released. But I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. Chief Minister that some of those involved in this Chittoor agitation are still behind prison bars. They should all be released. Then there are people who sympathized with us and stopped trains and did similar things in other districts. They are also still behind prison bars. I would appeal to the Hon. Chief Minister to enquire into those cases and release them also.

“ It is now certain that the Boundary Commission is coming. But it is not known when it is coming and how long it will take to set up the Commission? Will it take a longer period than we expect? We want that in this interim period our culture, our language, our educational facilities and for employment facilities should be safeguarded in Chittoor district. To start with we will be content to remain inside the Andhra State. But the Commission must come within a reasonably short time, say at least before 31st December 1953. There is ample time before now and then and they must decide one way or another. After the Boundary Commission gives its verdict we will not repeat what is happening in Bellary. If the Commission says we should be inside the Andhra State we will take that verdict with pleasure. We will continue to live as good citizens of the Andhra State. We will not agitate like the people of Bellary though Misra award has been given and though the Central Government made it clear that there is to be no going back on the award. But in the meanwhile we only pray that this State Government as also the Central Government should safeguard the interest of the Tamilians living in those parts.”

* SRI K. V. VEMA REDDY :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in welcoming this Bill, though certain provisions in it have to be amended, I wish to say that this is a most momentous event in the history of the Andhra State. It is the result of the great sacrifices

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of the people and the leaders and the sacrifice made by the late Potti Sriramulu at the altar of the Andhra State. It adds to the glorious history of the Andhras. This part of the history cannot be forgotten, cannot be effaced. As a matter of fact it marks the beginning of a new era and gives birth to a new State. It has its parallel only in the great and eventful day, the day of the declaration of the independence of India. When we achieved independence, people thought that their economic ills, social and political ills would be cured. But to their disappointment the Government have yet to solve those problems. They also do realize that these problems cannot be solved overnight. Similarly the formation of the Andhra State is no solution for the problems of the Andhra State, it is no solution for famines in the Andhra State, it is no solution for unemployment in the Andhra State and it is no solution for the development of the undeveloped areas in Andhra State. It is only a first step, an aid. It will help us in achieving our objectives, in building a new Andhra State. But everything depends on the leadership of the State. The future of the Andhra State depends upon united and selfless leadership. Only with this can the Andhra State solve its problems. I am sure the accredited leader now sitting in this Assembly, Sri Prakasam, and leaders like Sri Ranga, Sri Sanjeevi Reddi and the budding leader Sri Nagi Reddi—though he belongs to the Communist Party—must all co-operate. It is only through the joint efforts of these leaders and the co-operation of other people that the new Andhra State can have a better future. I am sure with our mineral resources and with our perennial rivers we can build up a new Andhra State and we will go high in the history of our country.

“Sir, lastly I wish to add a word. We are parting from our Tamil friends. We are parting as friends and we must be good neighbours. We have to help each other. To-day the distribution of States on linguistic basis is conducive to better administration and for the development of the culture of different States, for the development of the resources and economic prosperity of each State. But this division on linguistic basis has its own perils. It has got a tendency to develop provincialism, to develop a narrow outlook which really undermines nationalism. All must remember that the nation is more important than the State. The prosperity of the State depends on the prosperity of the Nation.”

* SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I also wish to associate myself in welcoming this measure as it is intended for the early formation of the Andhra State. In this connexion I would like to bring to the notice of the House certain difficulties which have got to be rectified during the course of the discussion on the Bill.

“In the first place, I feel that the Bill lacks sufficient provision for the inclusion of all those territories where the main language spoken is Telugu and which form parts of States like Mysore, Hyderabad, Orissa and others. There is no provision as I submitted that these parts where the majority of the people residing are speaking Telugu, are to be included in the new Andhra State.

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Therefore, I suggest that either along with the formation of the new State or at least in the near future there should be sufficient provision in this Bill to enable the inclusion of those parts where the main language is Telugu. And then there is the question of representation in the Assembly of the new State in the Council of States and also in the House of the People where we find there is no provision for sufficient representation. In view of the population, it is necessary to increase the strength of the State Assembly the Council of States and the House of the People, so far as the Andhra people are concerned.

“ Regarding the High Court, my view is that there must be simultaneous functioning of the High Court along with the formation of the new State. There will be difficulty for the litigants of the Andhra public, if the High Court is to function still in Madras after the formation of the Andhra State. There is no provision so far as the present Bill is concerned that the High Court is to be located somewhere in Andhra area, but it is left to the decision of the Chief Justice and of the Governor after the formation of the State. It should not be like that. There should be sufficient provision in this Bill itself for the location of the High Court simultaneously with the formation of the new State in any part of the new State and before the actual formation of the State. I feel that there should be provision in the Bill for appointment of a small Cabinet consisting of some of the Andhra members of the Assembly to make suitable arrangements for the formation and for the successful working of the State. For, unless immediate arrangements are made on this account, it may not be possible for the new State to start on a good sound basis. Therefore there should be a provision of that type in the new Bill.

“ And then regarding the apportionment of assets and liabilities. I find there is no hurry now. As at present suggested in the Bill, provision for division of assets and liabilities is not happy and it is not conducive to the best interests of the new State. Therefore several of the members are of the opinion that this matter must be referred to an arbitrator of the status of a Judge of the Supreme Court, so that there may be a just and equitable distribution of assets and liabilities of the State. Therefore, there should be a provision for that.

“ Then in view of the non-availability of a proper place to locate the capital and in view of the decision that was already arrived at, it is absolutely necessary for the composite State to make sufficient provision for the construction of a capital in the place already suggested. There is no provision to enable either the proposed new State or the present Government to make suitable arrangement for successful working of the new State and to invest sufficiently large amount for the construction of houses and buildings to locate the offices and officers of the new State. Therefore there should be provision also in this Bill to this effect.

“ Then about the Services. In this regard also, there is not a proper provision enabling the new State to have a final say in regard

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to the cadre, category, etc., of the Services. Therefore, my suggestion is that there should be a modified provision for enabling the new Andhra State to make arrangements in all matters concerning the vital Services connected with the administration of the State.

“ Finally, I would like to refer in this connection to the remarks of Mr. Vinayagam that Chittoor had been a Tamil area and on that I am not going to enter into details. I would like to take strong exception to the language used and to the conduct at Chittoor of officials responsible for the administration of the district some time back. I would also refer to the attitude of most of the Tamilian Ministers and the public towards Andhras who are residents in Madras. I should say that similar treatment has been meted out here. Therefore there is no use of complaining, about all these things. At a time when we are separating, these sentiments should not be there and I only appeal to the members not to make such hasty remarks but to abide by any lawful decision that may be arrived at in the course of the proceedings that will be started by a Boundary Commission or the like. Therefore it is necessary to make amendments to the Bill.

“ I hope the new State would flourish and satisfy the aspirations of the Andhra public.”

12 noon. * SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by many hon. Members of this House welcoming the Motion recommending the introduction of this Bill in Parliament. On this occasion it would not be out of place for me to think of the great men, the pioneers and fathers of our Andhra renaissance movement—the great Kandukuri, the great Gurazada and Gidugu Ramamurthi Panthulu. These were the people who in fact gave voice to the Andhra feeling that their language, their culture and their social traditions must be reformed, moulded and made really the people's language, the people's culture and the like. Similarly the national movement has contributed to our Andhra movement; the idea of one nation, the idea of anti-imperialism and India fighting against British Imperialism, these roused the Andhra people and gave them a sense of their own interest in an independent India. They have been fighting for a separate State within the joint family of India consisting of various nationalities. In this connection I remember many national leaders, Congress leaders and others like Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu and Mutnuri Krishna Rao who had sacrificed much for the sake of the country and at the same time who had also built up the Andhra movement. Finally the Andhra movement grew and spread into the villages starting from towns and it became a real people's movement. I congratulate the people of Andhra, peasants, workers, students and various other sections of our people who translated the general demand for a separate Andhra State into a reality by fighting every day for their projects, their industrial development and educational advancement. All these gave a real content and a real form and finally with the death of

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Potti Sreeramulu they rose, as it were, in revolt against the policies of the existing Governments both in the State and at the Centre and demanded the immediate formation of the Andhra State and thanks to the Union Government they at last acceded to the demand of the Andhra people. As a result of the glorious fight for over 40 years by the people of Andhra, this Bill is sent to us for recommending it to be introduced in Parliament and be passed into law.

"At this stage I do not like to go into the many controversies created by this Government and I would go into them at the proper time. When there is separation, certainly there will be controversy. There have been people both inside and outside the Government who opposed *in toto* the separation of the State and wanted the postponement of the creation of Andhra State *sine die*. There have been people who, when the new State could not be formed, incorporated many provisions in the Bill which are not in the interests of the Andhra people. Of course, all these have to be discussed, ironed out and suggestions made to the Central Government to be incorporated in the Bill. Sir, I would have welcomed some controversy and some kind of discussion on the provisions. I hope hon. Members will agree with me when I say that syrup will be more tasteful and more pleasant and sweeter if a little pepper is added to it. But due to the controversy carried on to a very great unseemly extent on behalf of the State Government, the Central Government and by individuals and organizations, there has grown some bad blood and there have been some misgivings as to the future of the new State. I would request the Members on the Treasury Benches and those behind them and also friends like Mr. Vinayakam to kindly stop and ponder over these things and not to be carried away by emotion. They will be just to us if they see that the provisions of the Bill are such as are not denying our legitimate rights. Certain provisions of the Bill do seek to practically create a bankrupt State and we want those provisions to be changed.

"I am very thankful to Mr. Vinayakam as he is going to abide by the verdict of a Boundary Commission that might be appointed to go into the question of the Chittoor district which he tried at length to prove that it was a disputed area. He was narrating history how Chittoor was a Tamil district and how it became a Telugu district. I would like to tell him and many hon. Members who might think alike that after all nations and nationalities are formed historical during the course of history. If a certain area or if a certain people have become Tamil people or certain people have become Telugu people, I accept it as an event of history and there is no use arguing about it. Yesterday one hon. Member was talking about the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari belonging to Tirupathi. Probably the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari's forefathers might have been Telugus and they might have migrated to some other place and there they might have learnt Tamil and imbibed Tamil culture. There is no use of claiming Sri Rajagopalachari as a Telugu to-day.

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12-10
p.m. “The formation of the Andhra State is now in the offing. Let us not try to forget the historical fact that the Andhra nation has come into being during the course of history. Mr. Vinayakam has referred to the agitation in Bellary while expatiating on the Tamilians’ claim over some parts of the Chittoor district. What did the history of Bellary tell us? What is it that the history and culture of Bellary reveal to us? I saw with all emphasis at my command that Justice Misra had erred when he had categorically observed that the culture of Bellary is out and out Kanarese. In fact it is an inter-mixture of Telugu and Kanarese. That truth should not be lost sight of. If we trace the growth of the Andhra history we shall never fail to come to the conclusion that Bellary is in entirety a Telugu area. May be a particular taluk in a particular district reveal during the process of historical research some truths about its inhabitants say a 100 or 200 years ago. But that does not mean that we should not take stock of what had happened all along in that particular area from time immemorial and up to now. That is why I say that a plebiscite of the people residing in a disputed area should be taken. That would give a clear verdict. So it is I plead for the appointment of a Boundary Commission to settle the claims of all these disputed areas and particularly that of Bellary. I am glad that the Union Government are going to appoint a Boundary Commission to clearly demarcate the boundaries of Andhra and Madras. Of course that may take sometime after the formation of the Andhra State. Let not my friend Mr. Vinayakam be in a hurry.

“I would not like to speak any more on the subject-matter at this stage. Once more I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by many of my previous speakers in welcoming the introduction of this Bill here and commending the same for introduction in Parliament.”

* SRI M. S. MOGRAL :—“The problem of linguistic re-distribution of States is not a new one. A decade and odd ago, the Congress has resolved that the provinces should be re-organised according to linguistic affinities for the cultural progress, administrative efficiency and for the better realization of our national aspirations. It is the delay on the part of the Government in taking steps to improve the deteriorating conditions of the people, that is responsible to bring to the fore, the question of linguistic States. It is hoped—perhaps with full justification, that the formation of linguistic States, apart from marking the fulfilment of a long cherished political ideal, it would give each homogenous unit a common outlook, a feeling of oneness and help to improve the conditions of the people to a great extent.

“It is a matter for congratulations that the Andhra problem came to a speedy and successful solution. All of us are convinced that Andhra area is a viable unit comprising an ethnically homogeneous population, speaking one language, possessing a common history and culture and all the people there unanimously desire to have a separate political existence for them. The Andhra question

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is a stupenduous one as we are well aware. We are grateful to the Union Government for the masterly way they handled the situation before it was too late.

“ Though the creation of linguistic States was the accepted creed of the Congress, post-Independence exigencies made the Union Government pause before taking further steps, in the implementation of this policy. A country disturbed by the rude shocks of a separated Pakistan, faced with new problems created by the advent of parties and creeds based on ideologies foreign to us and further enervated by abnormal conditions of famine and pestilence, has every justification to pause and be cautious before the consideration of the creation of States based on lingual patriotism. But Andhras are a people with great initiative and drive and they pinned their faith on a united Andhra and they sincerely felt that their salvation depended in the creation of an Andhra State. For them it was not a party question nor was any sacrifice too great to achieve this end. The first casualty in the Andhra cause was the touching self-immolation of the great Andhra patriot Potti Sriramulu. By this time, the Prime Minister had already begun to realize that the Andhra problem was fast deteriorating with an added momentum from the Kannada, Malayalam and other areas to have their own States. Like his immortal leader Mahatmaji, the Prime Minister was not slow in feeling the pulse of his people and he decided it but fair to yield to the wishes of the people, whose welfare he so greatly cherished. The result was the setting up of a machinery for the creation of an Andhra State which for expedition and thoroughness can be compared with pride, to the stupenduous task undertaken by Lord Mountbatten for the liquidation of the British Empire in this country. The process of the division of the State into the future set up of Andhra and the residuary States was not without difficulties. Apart from the intricate problem of financial adjustments among the two States, the adjustments of disputed areas was problem that has agitated the minds of the people of these two States very considerably. But the intervention of the Union Government where the two sections could not come to any settlement has considerably helped in setting these issues once for all. I am sure we are within our bounds if we hope that once these differences are narrowed down, there will be goodwill and co-operation between all the sections.

“ Be that as it may, the Andhra State has come to stay and it has the sincerest blessings and most cordial felicitations of this House. But I have a word of advice and caution to the Andhra members, who would be bidding us farewell ere long. You are the torch-bearers to the millions of your compatriots who are as determined now as you were once to fight for a cause most dear to them—I mean the millions of Kannadigas, Malayalees, Bengalees and Biharees, who are impatient to enjoy the bliss of their own linguistic States. It is a general opinion that a re-distribution of States is an essential need for proper development of the country. It would have been perhaps, better if they had settled this question while formulating the Constitution. At present we have a strange

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system of A, B and C States, which is a relic of the past and which is something like the Dominions, the Dependencies and the Crown Colonies of the British Empire. There is hardly any logic in having a State for 2 lakhs of people in one place and another State for 8 crores of people. A more convenient distribution of State is needed and distribution along linguistic lines would be more natural, and it would facilitate the internal life and progress of the people of each particular State.

“The honourable members from Andhra Desa may well remember in this connection the declaration of our Prime Minister that, while he was prepared to consider the claims of other people for the formation of linguistic States favourably, his consideration of these claims may greatly be influenced by the successful working or otherwise of the Andhra State. These are grave words coming as they do from the Head of the Union. I request the hon. Members to bear this in mind and I appeal to one and all to make the Andhra State a success, as otherwise it will not only be a slur on the great name of Andhra, but an eternal cause for sorrow, for the posterity of other areas that it was the Andhras who betrayed them and deprived them of their legitimate share of a State with a common mother-tongue. My dear Andhra brothers, I wish you all success and God will help you.”

12-20
P.M.

* SRI W. J. FERNANDEZ :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my views on the subject under discussion compel me to sound a discordant note because I am opposed to the encouragement of any tendencies which may even remotely foster the disintegration of the country.

“The decision to form the Andhra State has been misconceived. Merely because in or about 1920 the Congress Party had accepted the principle of linguistic Provinces that was no reason why thirty years later the Government should have been stampeded into the creation of an Andhra State. We are still at the beginning of the process of the political consolidation of the country. Whatever unifying factors there are to-day were induced by the British. Indian History has shown repeatedly that the forces in India are fissiparous and centrifugal. Everything should have been done by those in authority to discourage any movement which might in time represent a threat to the strength and unity of the country. At present, there are two factors which act as a cementing force. The first is the unity induced by the British. The second is represented by the pivotal position occupied by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. When time has effaced the conventions set up by the British and the unifying hand of Jawaharlal Nehru is removed we are gravely apprehensive of the consequences for the country. The forces in favour of regionalism are infinitely greater than the forces which may weigh the scales in favour of unity. Both from a long and short point of view the decision to set up an Andhra State is extremely unwise. Already this concession has started similar movements in other parts of the country. The demand for Karnataka, for Maharashtra, etc., is becoming increasingly vocal. These demands unfortunately make a powerful

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appeal to political leaders in the respective areas. Ultimately when the hand of Jawaharlal Nehru is removed these fissiparous political influences are bound to dominate the Party in power. There will be no one strong enough to resist them.

“ The formation of the Andhra State has already set in motion a cycle of political and emotional influences the end to which may well mean the “ Balkanisation ” of India. With the concession of Andhra, the ultimate-setting up of other linguistic States will only be a matter of time. Apart from the political and administrative difficulties that territorial re-arrangement will involve, there is bound to be precipitated bitterness, inter-State dog fights in respect of conflicting territorial claims. The growing demands for linguistic States will represent communalism more fierce and stronger than anything India has ever faced in the past. As it is, we find increasing intolerance based on regional and linguistic motives. Once the regional and linguistic forces become co-terminus, the fanaticism will be accentuated a thousand-fold. The claims of Hindi as the national language will be relegated not only to the background but into ultimate oblivion; each linguistic State will become a water tight fanatical enclave, not only politically but also linguistically.

“ The idea of a common nationality, of complete freedom of movement and of opportunity between the States will be a thing of the past. This disintegration will have the final seal placed on it when different political parties are in power in different States. An opposition political party at the helm of affairs in a linguistic State will use every device to defy the Party at the Centre and to encourage the forces of secession and disintegration.

“ If as a sop to the group pressure within the Congress party, any further concession is made on the principle of linguistic States, it seems pretty certain that it will irrevocably set in motion a process which will “ Balkanise ” India and make it a sub-continent of divided and often warring units.

“ My views, however, do not prevent me from wishing my Andhra fellow legislators, who will be leaving us shortly good luck and godspeed and their new State all prosperity.”

* SRI R. KRISHNAN :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ പൊതു തത്വത്തോടു യോജിക്കുകയാണ് ഞാൻ ചെയ്യുന്നത്. കഴിഞ്ഞ അസംബ്ലി യോഗം നടന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന സമയത്തും അതിനു മുന്പുള്ള അസംബ്ലി യോഗങ്ങളിലും ആസ്യയിൽനിന്നു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർ ആസ്യം സംസ്ഥാനം കിട്ടുന്ന രൂപയിൽ തെലുങ്കു ഭാഷയിൽ മാത്രമെ ആങ്ങൾ സംസാരിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ എന്നു വൃണം എടുത്തു കൊണ്ട് തെലുങ്കു ഭാഷയിൽ വാദപ്രതിവാദങ്ങളും പ്രസംഗങ്ങളും നടത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതെല്ലാം ഇന്നു ഈ യോഗത്തിൽ നൂറണിയമാണ്. എന്നാൽമല്ല, ആസ്യം സംസ്ഥാനത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ജീവതാഗ്രം ചെയ്ത ത്യാഗവൽക്കാരം പൊട്ടി ശ്രീരാമലിന്റെ മരണത്തെ തുടർന്നു ആസ്യയിൽ പല ഭാഗത്തും നടന്ന വെടിവെപ്പുകളിൽ മരണമടഞ്ഞ രക്തസാക്ഷികളെയും നമുക്കിവിടെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കാതെ ഇരിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ ഭാരം വകുപ്പുകളിലേക്കും ചുഴിഞ്ഞു നോക്കുവാൻ ഇനിയും സൗകര്യമുണ്ട്. ഭാഷയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ വിഭജിക്കുക എന്നുള്ള തത്വത്തെ തല നോട്ടം അംഗീകരിച്ചു കാണുന്നതിൽ സന്തോഷമുണ്ട്. ഇതിനു വിചലിതമാകുകയായി

[Sri R. Krishnan]

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നിന്നു എല്ലാ പിന്തിരിപ്പൻ ശക്തികളെയും തട്ടിനീക്കിക്കൊണ്ടാണ് ആസൂത്രീയ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു അവരുടെ സംസ്ഥാനം പിടിച്ചുപറുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതിൽ നമുക്കു ന്യായമായി അഭിമാനിക്കാം, സന്തോഷിക്കാം. മാത്രമല്ല ഔവശിപ്പു ദേശശിയിൽ ഇനിയും ഭാഷാ സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രൂപീകരിക്കേണ്ടതു് ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു. ഐക്യ കേരളം കേരളത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ ചിരകാലമായി ആശിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ഭാഷാസംസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യമാണ്. അതുകൂടാതെ നാട്ടുഭാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു പുരോഗതിക്കു ആവശ്യമായ നിയമനിർമ്മാണങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഉ. മലമ്പാർ കടിയായ് വിട്ടു. ഐക്യകേരളത്തിനും ഐക്യതമിഴകത്തിനും എതിരായി പലരും പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന് നമുക്കു മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ആസൂത്രീയ ജനങ്ങൾ അവരുടെ സംസ്ഥാനം പിടിച്ചുപറിയുതുടങ്ങിയ ശേഷമേ തമിഴും അവരുടെ സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ പിടിച്ചുപറുകതന്നെ ചെയ്യും എന്നുള്ളതു് തക്കമറ്റ സംഭവനിയമം. മാത്രമല്ല ഐക്യകേരള രൂപീകരിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിന്നു സ്വയം സമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും സാമ്പത്തികഭരതയും ഉണ്ടാകുകയില്ലെന്ന് ചിലർ വാദിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഈ വാദം അടിസ്ഥാനരഹിതമാണെന്ന് ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. തിരു-കൊച്ചി സ്വയംസമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും സാമ്പത്തിക ഭരതയും ഇല്ലാത്തതന്നെ ഒരു സ്റ്റേറ്റാണെന്ന് നിലനിന്നു വരുന്നുണ്ട്. മാത്രമല്ല മദിരാശി സംസ്ഥാനത്തന്നെ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ സ്വയംസമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും സാമ്പത്തിക ഭരതയും ഇല്ലാത്തതന്നെ ഇന്നും നിലനില്ക്കുന്നുമുണ്ട്. ഇതേവരെ നിലനിന്നിട്ടുമുണ്ട്. ഇതു് പരമാത്മമാണെങ്കിൽ ഐക്യകേരളവും ഭക്ഷണ കാര്യത്തിൽ സ്വയംസമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും സാമ്പത്തികഭരതയും ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും ഒരു നാഷണലിറ്റി (Nationality) എന്നുള്ള നിലയ്ക്കു നിലനില്ക്കുവാൻ, വളരുവാൻ സാധിക്കും എന്നുള്ളതു് ഒരു പരമാത്മം മാത്രമാണ്. ചിലർ വാദിച്ചേക്കാം അങ്ങിനെ വിട്ടുവോഴ്ചനേതരകാളു വഴരെ അധികം കഷ്ടങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു. തീർച്ചയായും ഇല്ല. ഭാഷാസംസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ വേറിട്ടുനില്ക്കുകയും കേന്ദ്രപദ്ധതി കൂടിച്ചേർന്നു നില്ക്കുകയും അങ്ങിനെ കേന്ദ്രഗവൺമെന്റിന്റെ അധികാരപരിധിക്കുള്ളിൽനിന്നു കാണുതന്നെ അവരുടെ സ്വയംസമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും സാമ്പത്തിക ഭരതയും വേണ്ടിയും വ്യവസായങ്ങളും കൃഷിയും അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തുവാനും ജനങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയും തീർച്ചയായും സാധിക്കും. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ജനകീയ അഭിലാഷങ്ങൾ സാധിക്കുന്നതുവരെ അതു സാധിച്ചുകിട്ടുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ജനങ്ങൾ പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കും കൂട്ടാൻ തുടങ്ങിക്കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഇതിനെയായി വേറെയൊരാൾ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട് ഭക്ഷിന്ന സംസ്ഥാനം. അതു വന്നമുതൽ മലയാളികൾ എവിടെ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും അവിടെയെല്ലാം ഇതിന്നു എതിരായി കയ്യുയർത്തുകയാൻ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുണ്ട്."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch."

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

* SRI R. KRISHNAN (cont.) :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, അടുത്ത ഭാവിയിൽ തന്നെ ഈ അസംബ്ലിയിൽനിന്നു പിരിഞ്ഞുവോകുന്ന ആസൂത്ര മെമ്പർമാർക്കു അഭിനന്ദനം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിന്നു മുമ്പായി ഒന്നരണ്ടു സംഗതികൾ ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. മദിരാശി സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ കണ്ണാടക സംസാരിക്കുന്ന ഭാഗങ്ങൾ മൈസൂരിനു വിട്ടുകൊടുത്ത അതേ അവസരത്തിൽ മൈസൂറുവാങ്ങിലുള്ള തെലുങ്കുപ്രദേശങ്ങൾ ആസൂത്രീകരിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുവാൻ ന്യായമായി ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതു് ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയും ചെയ്യാം. അതുമൊട്ടു, ആസൂത്ര കര കൌൺസിൽ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകിൽ അവിശിഷ്ട മദിരാശിക്കു ഒരു കൌൺസിൽ എന്തിനാണ്? അനാവശ്യമായ പണച്ചിലവും സമയനഷ്ടവുമാണ് ഈ കൌൺസിൽകൊണ്ടു ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതെന്ന് ഈ സഭയിൽ തന്നെ പല പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിലും പലരും വ്യക്തമാക്കിയ സംഗതിയാണ്. ഇതിനെല്ലാം പുറമെ ഇന്നത്തെ ഈ നില തുടർന്നുവോകുന്നതോടുകൂടി മലമ്പാർ മറ്റൊരു മലയാളം സംസാരിക്കുന്ന പ്രദേശങ്ങളും ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്ന ഐക്യകേരളം രൂപീകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുവാൻ മറ്റു എല്ലാ അംഗങ്ങളെപ്പോലെത്തന്നെ, പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു മലമ്പാറിലെ അംഗങ്ങളെപ്പോലെ തന്നെ, തമിഴ്നാട്ടിലെ മെമ്പർമാരും മന്ത്രിമാരും ആജ്ഞാപനമായി പരിശ്രമിക്കുമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. രൂപീകരണനിയമങ്ങൾക്കും, വ്യവസായ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കും വേണ്ടി തീർച്ചയായും ഐക്യകേരളം അനിഷേധ്യമായ ഒരു ഘടകമാണ്. ഇതു് ആവശ്യമാണ്; മലയാളികളുടെ ചിരകാലമായ അഭിലാഷമാണതു്. അങ്ങിനെ ഐക്യകേരളം പുറിയുവാനെങ്കിൽ അടുത്ത ഭാവിയിൽതന്നെ സാമ്പത്തിക ഭരതയും സ്വയംസമ്പൂർണ്ണതയും

15th July 1953] [Sri R. Krishnan]

തയും ഉണ്ടാക്കത്തക്ക നിലയിൽ മലബാറിനെ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ കഴിയും എന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. എന്തുതന്നെ പ്രതിബന്ധങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായാലും ശരി മലയാളികൾ നിഷ്പ്രയാശം അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ വിടിച്ചുവാങ്ങുവാൻ തയ്യാറായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഇവിടെ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുകയാണ്. ഇനി എനിക്ക് വിശദീകരിക്കാനും പറയുവാനില്ല; അടുത്ത ഭാവിയിൽതന്നെ പിരിഞ്ഞുപോകുവാൻ നില്ക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ ആശ്രയ സാഹചര്യമോടോടും എന്റെ വിനീതമായ അഭിനന്ദനങ്ങൾ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തി കൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുകയാണ്”.

* SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I consider it a great privilege for me to support the motion moved by the Hon. the Chief Minister in this House. There is a tremendous significance behind this Bill. I find in this Bill an inspiring call as well as a warning to all those who yearn for linguistic provinces. There is inspiration in the sense that before the united strength, before the united will and the united struggle of the people no power on earth can prevail. That is the lesson that I draw from the Andhra State Bill.

“ Sir, it was only some months before the historical declaration of the Prime Minister that the leaders of the greatest organisation, the Indian National Congress, had stated that the question of linguistic provinces could not be opened at this stage but the great martyrdom of the Andhra people has changed that attitude and the Andhras have won to a certain extent. Though the Andhra State Bill has come and the Andhra brethren are going to enjoy their own linguistic State, it is not the contemplated Andhra State that they have fought for. It is a warning in the sense that though the ruling clique have been forced to concede the demands of the people they will try their utmost to mutilate the demands and see that reservations are made and half-measures are put forward. It is in that manner that Visal-Andhra, the long cherished goal of the Andhra people, is mutilated. Apart from this, I understand that after the declaration regarding the formation of the Andhra Province, Pandit Jawaharlal has declared that for the coming five years no question of redistribution of provinces will be taken up. I am not at all worried on account of this. The great lesson that we can draw from the Andhra State issue is there and we, the Malayalees, will not rest content that we force the unwilling hands of the ruling clique and see that United Kerala or Aikya Kerala comes into being.

“ Sir, the most funniest of all things is the resolution passed by the Malabar Pradesh Congress Committee on 24th May 1953 at a meeting held at Palghat. To cap everything, I ask most sincerely what right has this discredited Congress organisation in Malabar to pass such a resolution and ask that the Travancore-Cochin State and Coorg should join the residuary Madras State? ”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ What right have you got? ”

* SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“ I have to say so because in the last elections the Congress organisation was routed and it could get only 11 or 12 per cent of the votes of the people.

[Sri T. C. Narayana Nambiar] [15th July 1953]

It is this organisation which has passed a resolution quite contrary to the declared will of the Malayalees and to the declarations of the Indian National Congress that they were not going to allow the formation of Aikya Kerala. Not only that, Sir, but the saddest thing of all is that our Chief Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, one of the veteran leaders of the national movement was present there in Palghat. Sri Bhakthavatsalam, one of the leaders of Tamilnad, was also present there."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I was in Palghat. Is that an offence? "

* SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—" I never said that it was an offence. It is for the Chief Minister to clarify the position. Anyhow, this most wonderful and preposterous proposition of a Southern State that the Palghat Conference had made, has made it a laughing-stock before the whole world. I do not want to deal with that subject in more detail at this stage. It is nothing but the lust of the reactionary landlords for other's property and for others' soil that is reflected in that resolution. As far as Malabar is concerned, I have to make it clear that we do not want an inch of other people's territory. We want a Malayala Pradesh, that is, the present Malabar district as well as a part of Kasaragod taluk of South Kanara district and also part of the Gudalur taluk of the Nilgiris district where the majority of the people speak Malayalam."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" It is more than an inch! "

* SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—" No, Sir. Even the present Malabar Tenancy Act is operative in these parts. The very fact that the Malabar Tenancy Act is in operation in these parts clearly shows that our demands for these areas are genuine. I do not wish to deal with the matter in detail here. My point is that the major part of the Travancore-Cochin State as well as the parts that I have mentioned here will have to be merged together and the Aikya-Kerala State will have to be formed and to that extent I am opposed to both the preposterous propositions of a West Coast State and a Southern State."

3-10 P.m. " My Tamil friends and others ask why we, Malayalees, are struggling for Aikya Kerala. Our experiences in this House which I shall explain quoting one or two instances will enable my colleagues to understand why I am making a demand for the formation of an Aikya Kerala State. There is pending before this House an amending Bill to the Malabar Tenancy Act. Ninety-nine per cent of the Malayalee Members of the Assembly have declared unequivocally that the above Bill is not at all wanted and should be basically changed; yet it is going to be imposed and it will of course be resisted."

MR. SPEAKER :—" What has all that to do with the Motion before the House? "

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* **SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR** :—" Not only that, Sir. The Central Government have reduced the import duty on coconuts. The Travancore-Cochin Government have already passed a resolution protesting against the action of the Government of India which has resulted in the ruination of coconut growers. What has the Hon. Minister coming from the district of Malabar, Sri Kuttikrishna Nayar, done to alleviate the distress of coconut growers? I wish also to ask what steps this Government have taken in this regard? "

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, on a point of order, I am unable to understand how these matters referred to by the hon. Member are relevant to the Motion before the House."

* **SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR** :—" Let me explain my point. The Government of India have been forced by circumstances to agree to the formation of an Andhra State and they have asked us to pass a resolution agreeing to the introduction of the Andhra State Bill in Parliament. My criticism against the Government of India is that they are doing things half-heartedly and that they are not implementing the basic principles adopted by the Indian National movement. As far as my memory goes, the Indian National Congress convened an All-Party Conference in 1928, which was presided over by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Secretary of which was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and which included persons like the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. S. Aney and Subash Chandra Bose at which it was decided without any doubt that the present provinces should be redistributed and that 'language unity' should be the most important factor to be taken into account when redistributing provinces. Last time when many of the members of the Assembly spoke in their own mother-tongue, most of the Hon. Ministers enjoyed the music of the languages spoken and they were unable to understand anything. The fundamental basis of any democratic State is the language in which its administration is carried on, and unless the people of the State are able to understand the language of the Government and unless the latter are in a position to understand the language of the people and be in a position to know their views by actual contact, how can we call the Government of that State democratic. So my humble request to the Hon. the Chief Minister and other friends is that all controversies over the formation of States on linguistic basis should be ended, that the question of linguistic States should be dealt with on a wider scale and the desire of the Malayalees for the formation of an Aikya Kerala State should be immediately granted and to that extent help should be given. That is my request, Sir. Once more congratulating the martyrdom of the heroic Andhra people, I resume my seat."

! * **SRI K. SUBBA REDDI** :—" అధ్యక్షా, నేను యీ రోజున యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లును బలపరచుచు మాట్లాడుచున్నాను నేను యీ బిల్లును బలపరచజాలనని మాత్రం చెప్పడములేదు. నేను బలపరచటానికి కారణ వేచుకుంటే, ఆంధ్ర జాతి దాదాపు చలబై సంతకృతులుగా తమ స్వయం నిర్ణయధికారం కోరకు, ఒక

[Sri K. Subba Reddi]

[15th July 1953]

ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రము కావాలని పోరాడుతున్నది. ఆంధ్ర జాతి పోరాట ఫలితంగా యీ బిల్లును ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రం చేయవచ్చును. కాని యీ బిల్లు ఆంధ్రులు ఆంధ్ర విధంగా రాకపోయినప్పటికినీ వచ్చినంత రకు ఉద్భవించి, మిగతా రానిగిరకు ఆంధ్రులు వైజానికంగాను, సంస్కృతికంగాను ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములోని పరిశ్రమలు అభివృద్ధి పరచుకొనుటకున్నా, ఆంధ్ర ప్రజల ఆర్థికాభివృద్ధి కొరకున్నా పోరాడి సంపాదించుకొనుటకు ఆపకాశము దొరుకుటవల్ల నేను యీ బిల్లును విలపరచుచున్నాను. కాని యీ నాడు యీ బిల్లును ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రమునంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అసలు యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర స్థాపనకే విముఖులుగా ఉన్నారన్న సంగతి అర్థమగుచున్నది. ఎందుచేతనంటే, రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర స్థాపన విషయంలో ఆంధ్రులకు మద్రాసును కట్టి బెట్టివచ్చినట్లే, రక్తపాతం జరుగుతుంటే యిదివరకే చాటించి యుండినట్టి, నేనూ ప్రభుత్వంలో విన్నవించియున్నాను. ఈ సంగతి ఆంధ్ర ప్రజానీకానికి గాకుండా, తదితర తమిళ పోదరులకునూడ గోచరమే. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అటువంటి పురుషులైనప్పుడు అనేక విధాలుగా ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర స్థాపనకు అడ్డుపడుతూ వచ్చినట్లు ఆంధ్రులకు ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రము లభించకుండా పోయింది. కాని యీనాటికి ఆంధ్రులకు ఒక ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రము వచ్చి యుండేది. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము యిదివరకు రాజకారణము శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారి అనే నేను గట్టిగా వేషగర్భిత పరిశ్రమచేసి కారకులు శ్రీ సంజీవ రెడ్డిగారున్నా, అంతకుపైకి ప్రకాశరేణుడుగారు అయ్యున్నారు. వీరందరు చేరి రాష్ట్రము రాసుండా ఏకా విధముగా ఆంధ్రులు కలుగజేసియున్నారు. ఎన్ని ఆటంకాలు వచ్చినప్పటికైనా, ఆంధ్రుల పోరాట ఫలితంగా, చిట్ట చివరకు ఆత్మబలిదాన ఫలితంగాను, యీ రాజగోపాలాచారి ఒక ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రము స్థాపించుకొనిగారు. ఇది ఆంధ్ర దేశానికి ఒక నాన్న విషయము కాకుండా, యావద్భారత దేశాని కంటకీని ఒక కొర్ర దర్శకముగాను వీరవచ్చింది. అయితే యీ నాటి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ఆంధ్రులకు తమకు రాష్ట్రమువద్దనే విధంగా యీ బిల్లు తయారుచేయవచ్చు. ఆంధ్రజాతికి యీ బిల్లులోని విషయాలనుబట్టి అనేక రకాలుగా నష్టము పొట్టిందేమో విధంగా యీ బిల్లు వచ్చింది ఏదో విధంగా ఆంధ్రులు యీ బిల్లు రద్దుచేయడం వెళ్లి రావడం తయారుచేసి వచ్చారు. అయినప్పటికి యీ బిల్లులోని ఆంధ్రుల స్వాభావాని వర్చకు వచ్చినప్పుడు ఒక్కొక్కటి వివరంగా పరిశీలించడం పోతున్నది. గనుక యీ రాజగోపాలాచారి నేను యీ బిల్లు విషయములో యిప్పుడు మాటాడవలసలేదు. అయితే ఒక చిన్న విషయము చెప్పవలసినాను. మన మిత్రుడు నాయకంగాను తిరుత్తనీలాంటి ప్రదేశములో తమిళులే ఎక్కువగా యున్నప్పటికినీ, అది మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో చేర్చబడకుండా ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతములో చేర్చబడవని చెప్పడంలో అర్థంలేదు. ఇందుకుగాను వారు దేశములో అనేక ప్రాంతాలలో అర్థంకాని ఉపన్యాసాలుచేసి ప్రజలను రెచ్చగొట్టుతున్నారు. అంతేకాకుండా తమిళ ప్రాంతాలను తెలుగు ప్రాంతాలుగా మార్చబడినవివహడా చెప్పారు. అటువంటి ప్రాంతము తమిళ ప్రాంతమో, తెలుగు ప్రాంతమో నిర్ణయించుటకు కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం ఏర్పాటు చేయబోవు సరిహద్దు సంఘంద్వారా Plebiscite వల్ల నిర్ణయించబడితే అందుకు కట్టుబడి భుటాము అనే మాట వారు చెప్పితే బాగుండేది. అట్లు చేయకుండా ముందుగానే ప్రజలను ఉద్రేకాలకు గురిచేసి, రెచ్చగొట్టి ఉపన్యాసాలు చేస్తున్నారు. Plebiscite ద్వారా కట్టుబడి భుటాము అని అంటే, నేను సంతోషించేవాడిని. ఇంతే కాకుండా తమిళ ప్రాంతములు తెలుగు ప్రాంతములుగా మార్చారు అని అంటే అర్థములేదు. ఏ ప్రాంతంలోనైనా ఏదో నాలుగు పాతశాలలు మార్చినంత మార్తాన, ఒక భాష

15th July 1953]

[Sri K. Subba Reddi]

ప్రాంతము మరొక భాషా ప్రాంతము ఎట్లు కాగలదని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆటువంటి అర్థంలేని ఆరోపణలకు సమాధానము లేవంతున్నాను. Plebiscite పెట్టినప్పుడు యీ తగాదా పరిష్కరించుకోవచ్చును. కాబట్టి యిక్కడనున్న సమస్యను నాయకంగారు, తమ ప్రవక్తావాదులు చేయకండా మానుకుంటారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను. వారు వెళ్ళే ఉప గ్రామములలో ఎవరి పేర్లు పాపగల్గి రాతా మొదలయిన వారి పేర్లు నాలుగు పేర్లున్నాయి. వారు ఆ నాడు రాష్ట్రపాలన పొగొన్నప్పుడు సమయంగా యీ తమిళ ప్రాంతం తెలుగు ప్రాంతముగా మార్చబడినది అన్నాడు. ఎటువంటి మార్పులు, ఏ విధంగా చేసినను, యిప్పుటికి ఆరువందల సంవత్సరాల క్రితం వైజాము ప్రభుత్వం లోకి వచ్చినప్పుడు ప్రన్న ప్రదేశాలు యీ నాటికిని తెలుగు ప్రాంతాలుగానే ప్రన్నవి. గోపాలే, విజో కొన్ని భాషా మార్పులు ప్రంటే ప్రండవచ్చు. ఆత మాత్రం చేత ఆసలు మొదట విచ్చిన భాషా ప్రాంతము ఎప్పుటిని మారదు. ఒక పేర ప్రన్న కూడా ఆ నాలుగు స్కూళ్లలోనూ నిర్బంధ విధానము పెట్టే పెట్టి ఉండవచ్చు. అంత మాత్రాన, ఆ ప్రాంత మంతయు తమిళ ప్రాంతమని చెప్ప వీలులేదు. ఇటు వంటి కొన్ని ప్రదేశాలలో సమయ ముక్తి తెలియజేయబడిన సంస్కృతికంగా నాశనం చేయుటకు ప్రజాసేవం ఉన్నది గుర్తించాలి. ఇటువంటి నాయకంగారు ఒక ఆచార్యమునకులో ఒక మాయారని అంటున్నాను. వేద ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజాపాలయం మేరకు సరిహద్దు నిర్ణాయక సమయము తెలుసుకుంటున్నది. అంతవఱకు ఓపిక వట్టుమని నాయకంగారు కోరుతున్నాను. అది కాకుండా మన శాసన సభ సరిహద్దు నిర్ణాయక సమయ వరలో ఏర్పాటుచేయుమని కోరిక ప్రభుత్వానికి సిపార్సు చేయవచ్చును. సరిహద్దు ప్రభుత్వము నిర్ణయించుకొనునది. ప్రజలలోనే ఒక నిర్ణయానికి రావచ్చు. అందుకు మనము ఇటువంటియంటి చాలుననుకుంటాను. మేమూరు రాష్ట్రములో ప్రన్న అంధ్రమునూడా అంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములోకి రావాలి. ప్రజల ఆధిపత్యం మేరకు సరిహద్దులు నిర్ణయించుకోవాలి. ఒక విధంగా మనమూడా ఎందుకు విశ్వాసు చేసుకోవలసినది మనం చేస్తున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు ఆంధ్రులకు తమిళులకు తగాదాలు వచ్చినందువల్ల ఆంధ్రులు ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రం కోరడంకాదు. ఆంధ్రులకు ముఖ్యంగా కామగిరి పరిశ్రమను, పాపగిరి మొదలయిన వన్నిటిలోనూ ఆన్యాయం జరిగింది గనుక కామగిరి కాపరి పాపగిరిని, రాష్ట్రము వృద్ధి చేసుకోవలసినది. ఈ రాష్ట్ర సహజ విషయములలో యావన్నది ఆంధ్రులు విశిష్టముగా ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రము కావలసి కోరుతున్నారు. ఇంతవరకు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర స్థాపనకు ఎవరైతే ఆటంకములు కలిగించారో యీ నాడు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లిను వారి యిష్టము వచ్చినట్లు తయారు చేయించి, వారి వాంఛలను నెరవేర్చు కుంటున్నాను. యీ బిల్లివల్ల ఆంధ్ర ప్రదేశానికి ఏ విధంగాను లాభము కాన పరిస్థితి కలుగుచున్నది. ఇంతవరకు ఆంధ్రులకు అనేక విధములగా ఆన్యాయాలు జరిగియున్నవి. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం కాకుండా ఎవరైతే ఆడుకెట్టుతూ వచ్చారో, వారే యీ నాడు వాదిస్తున్నారని ప్రజలు అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నారు. ఈ బిల్లిలో చేయవలసిన మార్పులకుగానూ, సభ్యులనాటివారి పార్టీదృక్పథంతో వ్యవహరించడం వద్దు. కాని యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లి చర్చించే సందర్భములో, ఆంధ్రులకు అవమానకరమైన పద్ధతులలో సభ్యులు చర్చించకుండా, ఆంధ్రులకు ఉపయోగకరమయ్యే సవరణలను చేయటానికి అవకాశం తీసుకొని తగిన మార్పులు చేయటానికి ఆమోదించే రీతిని మాట్లాడమని సభ్యుల నందరిని కోరుతూ, యింతటితో విర మిస్తున్నాను."

* SRI G. SIVASANKARA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker Sir, it is needless to say that this act of separation of Andhra State from the

[Sri G. Sivasankara Reddi]

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present State of Madras will be welcomed all over the State even though it is not complete fulfilment of the wishes of the Andhras who desire the formation of a Vishala Andhra State comprising all Telugu speaking areas included in Hyderabad, Mysore and Orissa States being merged with the areas of the Andhra State.

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“ I also wish to point out, Sir, that if delay is caused in the formation of ‘ Visala Andhra ’—I am even afraid—that someone may follow the example of Sri Potti Sriramulu. Hence I would like that some such assurance is also included in this Bill before it is introduced in the Dominion Parliament. With regard to the partition arrangements of the new State, Sir, the people of Andhra have become highly suspicious about this Government. Though it is very long since the Andhra Congress Legislature Party elected its leader, this Government has neither taken him into their confidence nor put him on the Partition Committee. This is highly detrimental to the interests of the Andhras. In this connection I wish to state that the leader so elected has to take up the responsibility of running the future Government of the new Andhra State. The present Andhra ministers, who are serving on the Partition Committee are only the representatives of this Government and I do not know how many of them would be in the future Andhra Government. Of course, this Government may give a lame excuse as to why non-Government members have not been included in the Partition Committee, but I cannot accept that excuse. What about the non-Government members who have acted on the previous Partition Committee? Then, Sir, in view of the terms of the Sri Bagh Pact the Government of India should realize the necessity for providing some safeguards in this Bill in respect of the backward areas of Rayalaseema. I feel, Sir, that in the matter of construction of irrigation projects, repairs to minor irrigation works as well as the extension of electric supply and other development projects, priority must be given to the backward areas of Rayalaseema. Secondly, the representation in the Assembly from Rayalaseema should be a little more than that of the other Andhra districts to ensure a fair and adequate representation for the backward areas of Rayalaseema. In other words, the target of population for the Assembly constituencies in Rayalaseema should be much less than that of the other Andhra districts. I would therefore like to recommend to the Government of India through this House that some such safeguards should be provided for the welfare of the backward areas of Rayalaseema in this Andhra State Bill. I am sure that if the Central Government with all their seriousness want to do it, it would not be difficult for them to change the Constitution suitably as they have once done so with regard to the elected Head of the Kashmir State.

“ Then, Sir, with regard to the request of this Government for a public loan, I think the Andhras cannot support this move on the eve of the formation of the Andhra State because it would be highly detrimental to their interests. If at all the new Andhra Government want to raise a loan, it may not be possible for them because this Government would have already raised it. Further

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the purpose for which and the way in which the amount should be spent should be left to the future Government of the Andhra State. I would also like to inform you that in famine affected areas like Kadiri and Hindupur the Tahsildars are even going to the extent of coercing the poor ryots, who are financially hopelessly bad, to contribute to this loan. If the Government is to allow the officials to resort to coercion in such matters, I am afraid that the ryots may even go to the extent of opposing the loan rather than paying anything for it. Hence I would request the Government not to press the floating of the loan in those famine affected areas.

“ Lastly, I am sorry, Sir, to note the elimination of the name of one Mr. Raza Khan from the list of members of the Madras Legislative Council, even though he belongs to Madras. Hence I would request the Government to include his name.”

SRI P. JEEVANANDAM :—“ கனம் சபைத் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்த சபையின் முன் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த ஆந்திர ராஜ்ய மசோதாவை கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சியின் சார்பில் நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். இந்த மசோதாவை இந்த சபையின் முன் வைத்தபோது கனம் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் கூறினார்கள் ஆந்திர மக்கள் மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சியுடன் வரவேற்கத்தகுந்த விஷயம் இது என்று. ஆந்திர ராஜ்ய அமைப்பைப்பற்றி ஆந்திர மக்களிடமும் அல்ல இந்திய யூனியனிலுள்ள மக்கள் அவ்வளவு பேர்களும் இதை வரவேற்பார்கள். மொழி வழி மாகாணம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கப்படுகின்ற மக்கள் அவ்வளவு பேர்களும் இதை மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சியுடன் வரவேற்பார்கள். ஏன்? இந்த அமைப்பு தேசிய போராட்டத்தில் ஜனநாயக போராட்டத்தில் ஒரு கால கட்டத்தில் மக்கள் போராடி பெற்ற ஜனநாயக சாதனை இது. மக்களுடைய ஆவல் மொழிவழி மாகாணம் தான். அந்த மொழிவழி மாகாணத்தில் மக்களுடைய வாழ்க்கை ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்த நாட்டில் தான் மக்கள் தங்களுடைய வாழ்க்கை மனத்தைப் பெற முடியும். அதற்குத் தான் மக்கள் மிகவும் போராடுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய சீரிய லட்சியம் மொழிவழி மாகாணம் தான். மொழிவழி மாகாணம் வேண்டுமென்று மக்கள் போராடி இதை சாதித்திருக்கிறார்கள். சென்ற காலத்தில் பார்த்தால் ஒரு மொழி பேசக்கூடிய மக்களை சிதாடித்து பிச்சுப் பிச்சு அவர்களுக்கு பல்வேறு சமஸ்தானங்களையும் ராஜ்யங்களையும் அமைத்துக் கொண்டு வந்திருப்பதைப் பார்த்திருக்கிறோம். மொழிவழி அமைப்பில் இந்த ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் அமைக்கப்படுகிறது. ஏற்கனவே பலர் கூறினார்கள் இது மத்திய சர்க்காருடைய வரப்பிரசுதம் இல்லை என்று. அது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். அன்று நாளை நகரில் மொழிவழி மாகாணம் அமைப்பது தேசத்திற்கு விரோதம் என்று இந்தியா முதல் மந்திரி கூறினார். மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டால் அது ஜனநாயக கோரிக்கைக்கு தடைப்பட்ட பிரிவினை என்று நமது முதல் மந்திரி கூறினார். இன்றைக்கு நமது முதல் மந்திரி அதிருஷ்ட வசத்தால் இப்படிப்பட்ட சகாப்தத்தில் இந்த அமைப்பில் வெற்றி பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்றைய தினம் நமது முதல் மந்திரி இந்த மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வந்து நல்ல உறுதியுடன் இதை நிறைவேற்றி சகோதரத் தன்மையில் பிரிவதற்கு இதைக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதை ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்ற நிலைமை இன்றையதினம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. மக்களின் போராட்டத்தால் இதை சாதித்திருக்கிறார்களே தவிர பாராளும் மன்றத்தால் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது இல்லை. மக்களின் போராட்டத்தால் தான் இது வந்தது. இப்பொழுது மொழிவாரியாக ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் அமைக்கப்பட்ட போகிறது. இதன் பிறகு ஐக்கிய கேரளம் வேண்டுமென்ற கிளர்ச்சி வருகிறது. ஐக்கிய சமயுக்தம் வேண்டுமென்ற கிளர்ச்சி எழுகிறது. ஐக்கிய தமிழகம் வேண்டுமென்ற கிளர்ச்சி வருகிறது. மகாராஷ்டிரம் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறார்கள். தனி கூர்ஜம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கிறார்கள். இந்திய யூனியன் பூராவிலும் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் வேண்டுமென்ற கிளர்ச்சி எழுகிறது. அதனால் வெற்றிமேல் வெற்றியாக வருகிறது. அதற்காக போராட்டம் நடைபெறுகிறது. இப்பொழுது ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் ஏற்பட

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[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

[15th July 1953]

போவதைக் கண்டு ஆந்திர மக்கள் இந்த அக்டோபர் மாதத்தை ஆகஸ்ட் மாத 15-ம் தேதியைக் கொண்டாடுவது போல் கொண்டாடுவார்கள் என்று குறிப்பிட்டார். ஆந்திர மக்கள் மட்டும் அவ்விதம் கொண்டாட மாட்டார்கள். இந்திய யூனியன் மக்கள் எல்லோரும் தான் கொண்டாடுவார்கள். ஆகவே இதை எல்லோரும் வரவேற்றிருக்கிறார்கள்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வரும்போது நான் ஏற்கனவே கூறினேன், இந்த அமைப்பு தேசிய ஒற்றுமைக்கு இருக்காது என்றும் இது தேசத்திற்கு விரோதம் என்றும், நாம் இதை இந்த மசோதாவில் பார்க்கிறோம்? ஷரத்துவாரியாக விவாதம் வரும்போது அதைப் பற்றி உள் நோக்கிப் பார்க்கலாம். அப்பொழுது அதைப் பற்றி பரிசீலனை செய்யலாம் என்று விட்டுவிடுகிறேன். நாம் இப்பொழுது மாகாணத்தில் என்ன பார்க்கிறோம். பல இடங்களில் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு வேண்டிய கிளர்ச்சியும் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். எல்லைத் தகராறு உள்ள இடங்களில் எல்லைக் கமிஷன் அமைக்க வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கிறார்கள். அதற்காக போராட்டங்கள் நடந்து கொண்டுவருகின்றன. அதிலிருந்து பல நடவடிக்கைகள் நடந்து வந்திருக்கின்றன. அன்று மார்க் 25-ம் தேதி பாராளுமன்றத்தில் இந்திய முதல் மந்திரி பிரகடனம் செய்த போது ஆந்திர மாகாணம் அமைந்ததும் உடனடியாக ஒரு கமிஷன் அல்லது பல எல்லைக் கமிஷன்கள் ஏற்படுத்தி எல்லைகளை நிர்ணயிக்க படும் என்று கூறினார். இன்று இருக்கக்கூடிய எல்லை பைக் கொண்டு ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் அமைக்கப்படும் என்றும் பிறகு எல்லைக் கமிஷன் நியமிக்கப்படும் என்றும் கூறினார். ஆனால் இன்று இந்த மசோதாவில் என்ன பார்க்கிறோம். கமிஷன் நிர்ணயம் செய்யப்படுவது துண்டு விழுந்திருப்பதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். எங்கு தேடிப் பார்த்தாலும் ஒரு இடத்திலாவது எல்லைக் கமிஷன் அமைக்கப்பட வேண்டியதைப் பற்றி இந்த மசோதாவில் கூறவே இல்லை என்பதை நாம் பார்க்க வேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மசோதாவின் உள் புகுந்தால் துர்அதிர்ஷ்டம் போகப் போக வருகிறது. Assets and Liabilities இதை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் அதாவது ஏழாவது ஷெடியூலை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் விவாதத்திற்கு வரும்போது அதைப் பற்றி பேசலாம். அதிலும் சரியாக இல்லை. இந்த மசோதாவில் எந்த அம்சத்தை எடுத்துக் கொண்டாலும் இந்த மசோதாவில் சிக்கல் நிறைந்து இருக்கிறது. இதை நாம் கண்கூடாகப் பார்க்கிறோம். சட்டசபைக்கு ஜனநாயக ரீதியாக அதிகாரம் கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். அதிகாரம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா? அதற்கு பதிலாக காலத்தைப் ப்ரசிடென்ட் நிர்ணயம் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று இருக்கிறது. இடத்தை கவர்னர் நிர்ணயம் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று இருக்கிறது. சர்வீசை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் அது ப்ரசிடென்ட் கையில் இருக்கிறது. எல்லா வகையுமும் ப்ரசிடென்ட் கையில் தான் இருக்கிறது. இது ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு விரோதமாக இருக்கிறது. கோர்ட் சர்வீசை எடுத்துக் கொண்டாலும் சரி எதை எடுத்துக் கொண்டாலும் சரி எல்லாம் சிக்கலாக இருக்கிறது. எங்கேயாவது இவைகளைப் பற்றி விளக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா? மசோதாவைப் பார்த்தால் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். ஏன்? மொழிவாரி மாகாண அமைப்பு மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு விரோதமாக இருக்கிறது. புதிய ராஜ்யம் வெற்றிகரமாக நடைபெறாமல் இருப்பதற்காகத் தான் இவ்வளவையும் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று எனக்கு புலப்பட்கிறது. இதைத் தான் நாம் இங்கு பார்க்கிறோம். ஆந்திர ராஜ்யமும் என்சிய சென்னை ராஜ்யமும் கடன்காரர்களாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று இருக்கிறது. இது உலகம் அறிந்த விஷயம். இப்பொழுது கடன் கேட்கிறது. இதைத் தீர்க்க எந்த விதமான உறுதியும் மத்திய சர்க்காரிடமிருந்து இல்லை. இப்படிப்பட்ட சிக்கல்களை கொண்டு வந்து வைத்து விட்டு அமைக்க வேண்டும் என்று இதைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது மோட்டார் சர்வீசை எப்படி தேசியமாக்கிவிட்டு அதை பலவீனமாக நடத்தி நம் தேசத்திற்கு தேசிய திட்டம் கூடாது என்று மக்களே சொல்லும்படியாக அதை நடத்தி வருவது போல் மொழிவாரி மாகாணத்தை ஏற்படுத்தி விட்டு அதை பலவீனமாக நடத்தி விட்டு மக்களை அது வேண்டாம் என்று சொல்லும்படியான நிலைமையை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவே தான் இப்படிப்பட்ட சிக்கலான மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு

15th July 1953]

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

வரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இது சண்டை சச்சரவுகளை உண்டு பண்ணக் கூடியதாகவும் இருக்கிறது. நாளை ஐக்கிய கேரளம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கப் போகிறார்கள், மகாராஷ்டிரம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கப் போகிறார்கள். ஐக்கிய தமிழகம் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கப் போகிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் சிக்கலான ராஜ்யத்தை அமைத்தால் இந்தக் கிளர்ச்சிகளை தடுத்தது நிறுத்த முடியும் என்பதற்காகவே தான் இந்த மசோதா அமைத்திருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். அதைத் தான் நான் இங்கு குறிப்பிடுகிறேன்.

“எப்படி ஆந்திர மக்கள் குறுகிய காலத்திற்குள் தங்களுடைய சிறந்த தியாகத்தின் மூலமாக ஆந்திர ராஜ்ய அமைப்புக்கு எதிராக இருந்த சக்திகளை யெல்லாம் முறியடித்து, புது ஆந்திர ராஜ்யத்தைக் கண்டார்களோ. அது போலவே இந்த மசோதாவில் இருக்கக்கூடிய, மக்களுக்குத் தொல்லை கொடுக்கக்கூடிய, ராஜ்யத்தின் நிர்வாகத்தைச் சிக்கல் படுத்தக்கூடிய, பல பலனீனங்களையும் முறியடித்து, மக்களின் போராட்டத்தின் பயனாக ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற ஆந்திர மாகாணம், மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் ஏற்பட வேண்டுமென்ற காரணத்திற்காக நடந்துகொண்டேயிருக்கின்ற போராட்டத்தின் முதல் வெற்றியாக கிடைத்திருக்கின்ற ஆந்திர மாகாணத்தின் நிர்வாகம், பலம் பெற்று மேன்மையடையவும் தகுந்த நடவடிக்கையையும் எடுப்பார்கள் என்பது நிச்சயம்.

“இப்படி பாஷாவாரி அடிப்படையில் அமைய இருக்கின்ற புது மாகாணங்கள் ஐக்கிய தமிழகம், ஐக்கிய கேரளம், சமீபுத்த கர்நாடகம் என்பதாக மொழி ரீதியில் பல மாகாணங்கள் அமைவதற்கு மிக உதவியாக இருக்கப்போகிறது. இதைக் கொண்டுவந்த முதல் அமைச்சரும், சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பில் இருக்கக்கூடிய அங்கத்தினர்களும், துரதிருஷ்டவசமாக சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பில் இல்லாத ஒன்றிரண்டு மதிப்பிற்குரிய நண்பர்களும் கூட, இந்த மசோதா மீது பேசுகிறபோது, மொழிவாரி மாகாண அமைப்பினால் கெடுதி ஏற்படப்போவது போல் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். அது தவறு. சென்னை ராஜ்யத்திலிருந்து ஆந்திர மாகாணம் பிரியப் போவதினால், பிரிந்த பின்னர் அது பலனீனமாகிவிடும். ஆகவே, அதைப் பலப்படுத்த திருவாங்கூர்-கொச்சியையும் இன்னுடன் சேர்க்கவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்து நிலவிவருகிறது. இந்தக் கருத்தைத் தான் பாலக்காட்டு மகாநாட்டில் சர்க்கார் தரப்பில் இருக்கக்கூடிய ஒரு சில பேர்கள் வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள், ஆகவே, தமிழ், மலையாளம் சேர்ந்த தசுஷிண ராஜ்யம் அமையுமோ என்று எண்ண வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. தசுஷிண ராஜ்யத்தில் $1\frac{1}{2}$ கோடி மலையாள மக்கள், 3 கோடி தமிழ் மக்கள், இன்னும் கன்னட மக்கள் இருக்கலாம்.

“நாடு பூராவும் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் அமைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்ற குமுறல் எழுந்து கொண்டிருக்கும்போது, மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் அமைக்கப் படவேண்டுமென்ற கிளர்ச்சி நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கும்போது, இது மாதிரியாக, தமிழ், மலையாளம், கன்னடம் ஆகிய மூன்று பிரதேசங்களையும் சேர்த்து தசுஷிண ராஜ்யம் அமைக்க யோசனை செய்வதானது, கருத்துக்களை வெளியிடுவதானது. மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் அமைக்கும் புனிதத் திட்டத்தையே உடைக்கும் சதித் திட்டமாகத்தான் நாங்கள் கருதவேண்டியிருக்கிறது ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் அமைப்பதற்கு எப்படி எவ்வளவோ தடைகளையும், இன்னல்களையும் இந்த சர்க்கார் ஏற்படுத்தியும்கூட எப்படி அவைகளையெல்லாம் அந்த தீரமிக்க மக்கள் முறியடித்தார்களோ, அதே போல தசுஷிண ராஜ்ய அமைப்புத் திட்டத்தை முனையிலேயே கிள்ளிவிட மக்களின் கிளர்ச்சிகளும் ஆரம்பமாகிவிட்டதென்பதை நான் உங்களுக்கு இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன்.

“இன்றைய தினம் ஆந்திர மக்கள் மொழிவாரி மாகாண அமைப்பில், மற்ற மொழிக்காரர்களுக்கெல்லாம் வழிகாட்டியாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் செய்த கிளர்ச்சி, அவர்களின் தியாகமிக்க இடையறு போராட்டம், முதலியவைகள் மற்ற தமிழர், கன்னடர், மலையாளி முதலியவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் வழிகாட்டியாக இருக்கிறது. அதே போக்கில் தான் தமிழர்களும் சென்று கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தமிழர்களும் சென்று கொண்டிருக்கப் போகிறார்கள். செல்லவேண்டும்.

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

[15th July 1953]

“மொழிவாரி மாகாண அமைப்பில், அங்கத்தினர்கள் அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருந்தாலும் சரி, சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பில் இருந்தாலும் சரி, ஒரே எண்ண முடையவர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டும். அதில் வேற்றுமைக்கே இடமில்லை. அபிப்பிராய பேதம் எழுவதற்கும் இதில் இடமில்லை. அது எப்படி என்று தான் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். நாம் எல்லோரும் தேசியப் பரம்பரையில் வந்தவர்கள். கலி ரவீந்திரநாத் டாகூரின் தேசிய கீதம் ‘ஜன கன மன அதி நாயக ஜயஹே பாரத பாக்கிய விதாதா,’ என்பதாக பாரத நாட்டுக்கு வாழ்த்து வழங்கும்போது கூட, ‘பஞ்சாப், ஸிந்து, குஜராத்த, மராட்டா, திராவிட, உத்கல வங்கா,’ என்பதாக, பஞ்சாபிகள், ஸிந்துக்கள், குஜராத்திகள், மராட்டியர்கள், திராவிடர்கள் என்பதாக அவரவர்களின் மொழிவழிப்படி ராஜ்யத்தைப் பிரித்து அமைத்துக்கொண்டு இவைகள் எல்லாம் தங்கள் கலாசாரத்தை, தங்கள் பொருளாதாரத்தை, தங்கள் மொழியைப் பெருக்கிக் கொண்டும், இந்திய நாட்டின் பிரஜையாக, இந்தியக் கொடியின் கீழ் பாரத நாட்டின் பெருமையைக் காக்க, கௌரவத்தை உயர்த்த ஒன்றாய் இருப்போம், என்றுதான் கூறியிருக்கிறார்.

“நம் தமிழ் நாட்டு தேசியப் பரம்பரையில் வந்த மகா கலி பாரதியாரும் கூட,

செந்தமிழ் நாட்டுப் பெருநர்—கொந்
தீக்கண் மறவர்கள், சேரன்றன் வீரர்,
சிந்தை துணிந்த தெலுங்கர், தாயின்
சேவடிக்கேபணி செய்திடு துளுவர்
கன்னட ரெட்டியரோடு—போரிற்
காலனு மஞ்சக் கலக்கு மராட்டர்,
பொன்னகரத் தேவர்க ளொப்ப—நிற்கும்
பொற்புடையா ரிந்து ஸ்தானத்து மலவர்”

என்பதாக, தமிழர்கள், மறவர்கள், சேரர்கள், தெலுங்கர்கள், துளுவர்கள், கன்னடர்கள், ரெட்டியார்கள், மராட்டியர்கள் ஆகிய எல்லோரும்

‘சேர்ந்ததைக் காப்பது காணீர்—அவர்
சிந்தையின் வீரன் நிரந்தரம் வாழ்க
தேர்ந்தவர் போற்றும் பாத—நிலத்
தேவி துவஜம் சிறப்புற வாழ்க,’ என்றுதான் முழங்கியிருக்கிறார்.

“ஆகவே உடனடியாக, தெலுங்கர்களுக்குத் தனி ராஜ்யம் அமைத்துக் கொடுக்கப்போவது போலவே, தமிழர்களுக்கும், மலையாளி மக்களுக்கும், கன்னடிய மக்களுக்கும், மராட்டிய மக்களுக்கும் இந்த நாட்டில் தனித் தனியே மாகாணங்கள் அமைத்துக்கொடுத்தாகவேண்டும்.

“அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் தங்கள் தங்கள் கலாசாரத்தை, மொழியை, பொருளாதார நிலையை வளர்த்துக் கொள்வதோடு, ஒரு கொடியிருக்கின்றதே இந்தியக் கொடி—பாரத நாட்டுக்கொடி—அந்தக் கொடியை, ‘சிந்தையின் வீரம் நிரந்தரம் வாழ்க,’ காப்பாற்றுவார்கள். ஒப்பாய்வற்ற சிறந்த பாரத நாட்டு இந்திய யூனியன் கீழ் அண்டி வாழ்வார்கள்.

“பாரத நாட்டுக்கு ஆபத்து ஏற்பட்டால், ஐக்கிய இந்தியாவை பாதிக்கக் கூடிய ஒரு தீச் செயல் முளைத்தால், மொழி வாரியாக ஏற்பட்ட ராஜ்யங்களுக்குள்ளே ஒரு பொதுவான ஒற்றுமை ஏற்படுமாயென பயப்பட வேண்டாம்.

“இந்தியச் சுதந்திரப் போராட்ட காலத்தில், எப்படி நம் நாட்டில் பறந்து கொண்டிருந்த யூனியன் ஜாக் கொடியை அகற்றி, இந்தியத் தேசியக் கொடியை உயர்த்திக்கொண்டு, தெலுங்கர்களும், தமிழர்களும், மலையாளிகளும், கன்னடர்களும், வங்கத்தவர்களும், ஸிந்துக்களும், ரஜபுத்திரர்களும், சிறைச் சாலையிலும் சரி, தொழிற்சாலையிலும் சரி, போர்க்களத்திலும் சரி, போராட்டத்திலும் சரி, மைதானத்திலும் சரி, மந்தை வெளியிலும் சரி, உயிரை உயிர் என்று மதிக்காது, தங்கள் குருதி ஆற்று வெள்ளமாக ஓடிய போதிலுங்கூட கடை முச்சுவரையில் போராடினார்களோ, அதேபோல, அதே பரம்பரையில் வந்திருக்கின்ற மக்கள், அப்படியே அவசிய மேற்பட்டால் நாளைக்கும் போராடுவார்கள்.

15th July 1953]

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

“மொழிவாரி மாகாணங்கள் அமைய வேண்டுமென்று அவர்கள் கோருவது தங்கள் ஐக்கியத்தை சிதைத்துக்கொள்வதற்காக அல்ல. ஐக்கிய இந்தியா துண்டு துண்டாக உடைந்துபோகவேண்டுமென்ற சதிக்கார எண்ணத்தால் அல்ல.

“மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களை அமைத்துக்கொண்டு, தங்களுடைய கலையை, தங்களுடைய மொழியை, தங்களுடைய நாகரீகத்தை தங்களுடைய பண்பாட்டை எல்லா வழிகளிலும் உயர்த்திக்கொள்வதோடு கூட நூற்றுக்கு நூறு பங்கு சாதாரணப் பரிமா மக்களும் கூட தங்கள் மாகாண அரசியலிலே பங்கெடுத்துக்கொள்வதற்கு ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பம் இருக்கவேண்டும், ஒரு வழியை அமைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்தால் தான் என்பதை, ஆளும் கட்சியானாலும் சரி, அவர் பக்கத்திலுள்ளோர்களும் சரி, நன்கு புரிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

“ஆகவே தான் நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் அமைப்பதில், அமைத்துக்கொள்வதில் சகோதரச் சண்டைகள் வேண்டாம். நமக்குள்ளேயே ஒருவருக்கொருவர் போராட்டங்கள் வேண்டாம். தற்போது எழுந்திருக்கின்ற சண்டையும் கூட இந்தத் தாலாகா அத்துடன் சேருவதா, இதுடன் சேருவதா, என்ற எல்லையை நிர்ணயிப்பதில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் தகராறுதான், எல்லைகளை சண்டை சச்சரவுகள் இன்றி, சமாதான முறையிலேயே, ஜனநாயக ரீதியாக நிர்ணயிக்க முடியும் என்றுதான் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சி கூறுகிறது. ஜனநாயக ரீதியில், ஜனநாயக அடிப்படையில், ஒரு பிரதேசத்தில் வாழும் மக்கள் எம் மொழி பேசி வருகிறார்கள், அப் பிரதேசத்தில் எம் மொழி வழங்கி வருகிறது என்பதைப்பற்றி விசாரிக்க ஒரு கமிஷனை நியமித்து, அதன் மூலமாக எந்தப் பிரதேசம், எந்த மொழிவாரி மாகாணத்தோடு இணைக்கவேண்டுமென சலபமாக வரையறுத்து, சச்சரவுக் கேயிடமில்லாத, அபிப்பிராய பேதத்திற்கே இடமில்லாத ஒரு எல்லைக் கோட்டை நிர்ணயிக்க முடியும். Contiguity of language இவைகளை வைத்து முடிவு செய்ய முடியும், தாயகத்தோடு அதைச் சேர்க்கவேண்டுமென்பதைப் பற்றி எல்லைக் கமிஷன்களை நியமித்து சலபமாகத் தீர்க்க முடியும். ஸ்ரீ சிவஞான கிராமணியாரிடமும் பேசினேன். மற்ற கட்சிகளிடமும் பேசினேன். இதர கட்சிகளும் ஆட்சேபிக்கவில்லை. Contiguity இவைத்துக் கொண்டு எல்லையை நிர்ணயித்தோமானால் இந்தச் சண்டைக்கே இடமில்லை.

“எல்லைக் கமிஷனை நியமிக்கவேண்டுமென்ற இந்த ஜனநாயகக் கொள்கைக்காகவே நண்பர் வினாயகம் அவர்கள் சித்தூரில் போராட்டத்தை நடத்தினார்கள். ஸ்ரீ சிவஞான கிராமணியும் மறியல் போராட்டத்தை நடத்தினார்கள். ஜனநாயகத்தின் அடிப்படைத் தத்துவத்தை ஒப்புக்கொண்டு, எல்லைக் கமிஷன் அமைக்கப்படுமென அறிவித்தபின் தான் போராட்டம் நிறுத்தப்பட்டது. பெல்லாரியிலும் போராட்டம் நடந்துவருகிறது.

“பிரிவினை மூலமாக சிக்கல் இல்லாத பிரச்சனைகளைத் தீர்க்கமுடியும். அதற்குத்தக்க வழியில் தான் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும். உடனடியாக எல்லா மொழிவாரி மாகாணங்களையும் அமைப்பதாக அறிவித்து அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தால் போதும். இந்தப் பிரதேசம் எந்த ராஜ்யத்தோடு சேர்ந்திருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதைப்பற்றி சச்சரவுக்கே இடமில்லை. இதைத்தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சி அழுத்தத் திருத்தமாக வற்புறுத்தி வந்திருக்கிறது. உடனடியாக மொழிவாரியாக எல்லா மாகாணங்களும் அமைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதுதான் அவர்கள் நீண்ட நாளைய கோரிக்கை.

“எனவே, கடைசியாக கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். நமக்குள் எல்லை நிர்ணயிப்பது சம்பந்தமாக சண்டை வேண்டாம். ஆந்திர மக்களுடைய புதிய ராஜ்யம் நீண்ட கால போராட்டத்தின், வெற்றியின் சின்னமாக உதயமாகப்போகிறது. அதில் ஆரம்பத்தில் எவ்வளவு பலவீனமிருந்தாலும், எவ்வளவு குறைபாடுகள் இருந்தாலும், அவைகள் எல்லாவற்றையும்தான் சிந்தை துணிந்த தெலுங்கர்கள், சமாளித்து அதை செழிப்படையையும் செய்வார்கள். அதையடுத்து ஐக்கிய தமிழகம் வரப்போவது நிச்சயம். ஐக்கிய கோளம் ஏற்படப்போவது நிச்சயம். யாரும் இன்மேல் அவைகளைத் தடுத்துநிறுத்த முடியாது. ஐக்கிய கர்நாடகம், ஐக்கிய மகாராஷ்டிரம்,

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ஐக்கிய குஜராத்தி அமைவதும் நிச்சயம். ஐக்கிய இந்தியா மொழிவாரியாக அமைக்கப்பட்ட பல ராஜ்யங்கள் சேர்ந்து இருக்கப்போகிறது. அப்படி ஒன்று சேர்த்த இந்திய யூனியன் உலகத்திலே ஜெனக் ஜோதியாகப் பிரகாசிக்கப் போகின்றது என்பதை இந்த சந்தோஷ வேளையிலே இப்படிப்பட்ட மகிழ்ச்சி கரமான தருணத்தில் நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு, கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சியின் சார்பில், இந்த மனோதாலை—இதில் இவ்வளவு குறைபாடுகள் இருந்த போதிலும்கூட—மொழிவாரி மாகாணங்களின் கோரிக்கைக்கெல்லாம் முதல் வெற்றியாக வந்திருக்கிறது என்பதற்காகவும், முதற்படியாக வந்திருக்கிற தென்றும், ஆந்திரச் சகோதரர்களின் நீண்டகாலப் போராட்டத்தின் பயனாக வந்திருக்கிறதென்பதற்காகவும், மகிழ்ச்சியாக வரவேற்கிறேன். அவர்கள் மேலும் மேலும் வெற்றிபெற வேண்டிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இதே ரீதியில் மற்ற மொழிவாரி மாகாணங்களையும் அமைக்க சர்க்கார் முன்வரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

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* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the whole atmosphere is surcharged with mutual suspicion and feelings have become over-sensitive, I suppose a lot of restraint is necessary because whatever is said is likely to be misunderstood rather than understood properly. It is too late in the day to discuss the merits of the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis. This formation took place several years ago in the minds of our politicians. Our actions and words all these years have shown that we have not been able to get over our linguistic bias so easily. When mutual suspicion increased, it became impossible for us to live together and a partition became necessary. Whether we like partition or not is quite a different thing. On an occasion like this I for one have mingled feelings of happiness and sorrow. I feel happy because a new Province is being brought into existence and thereby the long-cherished desire of a great people is being fulfilled. Andhras have been looking forward rightly or wrongly to a separate Province of their own where they could work out their own destiny. At the same time, we cannot but have feelings of sorrow because Madras, which has been one of the biggest provinces of the Union of India, is to-day being disintegrated. We cannot forget that that Province has been the joint enterprise of the people of Andhra, Tamilnad, Karnataka and Malabar. The Andhras have decided to separate from us. They say that the formation of the Andhra State is going to be a new freedom for them. It appears to me that the other people have been as anxious for the formation of the Andhra State as the Andhras themselves have been, in the circumstances prevailing. But in this process deep wounds have been inflicted and are being inflicted. Where there should have been peace, small differences are being magnified and this is creating a lot of bad blood. When the Boundary Commission which is going to be appointed by the Central Government begins its task, it is bound to meet with so many vexed problems, because every day the claims and counterclaims are on the increase. Instead of settling down peacefully and trying to build up new States, we have been feeling that the greater and greater our claims, the better it would be for the future of the State in which we are interested. Kannadigas and Andhras have lived together in peace for a long period with problems common to each other. But to-day they want to make a place like Bellary a fighting ground between them. What is true of Bellary may be true of so many

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other border areas. In fact, almost all people are agreed that Karnataka is the one linguistic Province which should have been formed earlier than the Andhra. The Dhar Commission which went into the question of linguistic provinces stated that whatever be the merits of the case for linguistic provinces, so far as Karnataka was concerned, divided as it was under five Administrations, it had been neglected everywhere and that the Central Government should pay special attention to the economic development of this region. But to-day instead of tackling the problems in the order of priority, we feel that linguistic division is the only panacea for all our ills. In fact we have been responsible for raising so many hopes in the mind of the common man who has been told that the moment the linguistic provinces are formed, all the problems will disappear. Our leaders and politicians have assumed a very great responsibility on this assurance and if any disappointment should follow, it will be a great tragedy indeed. We have sympathy for the Andhras who are going to part from us.

"I would like to say a few words about our friends in Bellary. I suppose they deserve our sympathy because they have been unceremoniously cut away and tacked on to Mysore. I welcome this because I trust that this will be the beginning of the formation of the Karnataka Province in course of time. We are very happy that Mysore has welcomed the merger of Bellary. We have no doubt that the people of Bellary will soon identify themselves with Mysore and will be worthy citizens of that State of whom all of us could be proud.

"Andhra is going to have its own problems and they are not going to be of a small magnitude. Andhra Province, it appears to me, is being born after Caesarean operation. In fact the baby is going to be delivered and it requires a lot of care. It is not born under very happy circumstances when it could take away with it plenty of cash and other assets. It has to take away what has been left by the composite State of Madras. I only wish and pray that the Andhra leaders who are quite capable will surely rise to the occasion and unite in solving the many problems that will be confronting the new-born baby. Andhras rose to the occasion in the past when there was the call of the country for independence, and I have no doubt that they will rise to the occasion once again. They have been a patriotic people; they have been highly emotional. If they make up their mind, they can build up a very healthy Andhra State, avoiding a top-heavy administration and the other weaknesses of the residuary Madras State. In that process, they have our abundant goodwill and best wishes."

* SRI G. C. KONDAYYA :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రపు పిల్లను గురించి చర్చించుచున్నప్పుడు తరతరాలనుంచి ఆంధ్రులు ఆసించియున్న రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నందుకు సంతోషించ వలసిన విషయమే. ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము కొరకు చేసిన త్యాగాలు సత్యాగ్రహాలు, కడపటి సారి ఆత్మబలిదానం వలితాలు మనకు కనబడుతున్నాయి. కాని యిప్పుడు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నదంటే, యిది ఏ ముద్రాను ప్రభుత్వమో, లేక కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వమో, మరి యింకొక ప్రభుత్వమో, వారి యిష్టము వచ్చి

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[Sri G. C. Kondayya]

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నట్లు కాకుండా, ఆంధ్రులు సాధించి తెచ్చుకున్న రాష్ట్రమేనని అంటున్నాను. ఆంధ్రులు అనేక త్యాగాలు, సత్యాగ్రహాలు, ప్రాణాలను అర్పించటము వరకూ రావడం వల్ల యీ రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నదేగాని, ఏ ప్రభుత్వం గూడా ఉదారంగా యివ్వడములేద. ఈ విషయములో నేనొక విషయము చెప్పదలచాను. ఈ మధ్య పొట్టి శ్రీరాములుగారు చనిపోయిన తర్వాత నెల్లూరు పట్టణములో అదేవిధంగా ఆంధ్రులు రాష్ట్రము కొరకు పోరాటం సాగిస్తుంటే, మన కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులు కొంతమంది వ్యతిరేక ప్రచారం చేయటం ప్రారంభించారు. వీరి ఎత్తియినను, ఆంధ్రుల పోరాట ఫలితంగా మనము యిక్కడ ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రపు బిల్లును గురించి చర్చించే అవకాశము కూడా కలిగింది. అందువల్ల ఒక వేళ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నదని సంతోష పడుతున్నప్పటికిని, యీ రాష్ట్రము ఎవరి వల్ల ఎట్లా వస్తున్నదని, ఆంధ్రులు వారి మనస్సుకు తెచ్చుకోకపోరు. ఆంధ్రులకు రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నదంటే, ఎట్లాంటి రాష్ట్రము వస్తుందోనని ఆశించుకొనియున్నారు. రాష్ట్రము కొరకు ఆశించినటువంటి ఆంధ్ర ప్రజలు విశాలాంధ్ర ఏర్పడుతుందని అనుకున్నారు, కాని అటువంటి రాష్ట్రము రావడము లేదని తెలిసినను అంతమాత్రాన ఆంధ్రులు నిస్సహ నిరుత్సాహము చెందరు. ఆంధ్రజాతి యెక్కడెక్కడవున్నారో వారందరు యీ విశాలాంధ్ర కొరకు పాటు పడుతారని అంటున్నాను. రాష్ట్రం అంటే, ఒక మన మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో చేరినటువంటి ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలే కాదు, విశాలాంధ్ర అనిపించుకునే ప్రాంతాలు కూడా ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంలో చేరేదాకా, యీ ఆంధ్రజాతివారి త్యాగాలుగాని, సత్యాగ్రహాలుగాని మానరు. ఆఖరుకు ప్రాణాలను గూడ అర్పించటానికి సిద్ధపడి గూడా విశాలాంధ్ర సాధించే వరకూ కృషి చేస్తారని చెబుతున్నాను. అటువంటిప్పుడు యీ నాడు యీ బిల్లులో సూచించబడిన విషయాలు పరిశీలించి చూస్తే, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం చాలా బలహీనమైన రాష్ట్రమని అనుకోవలసి వస్తున్నది. భారతదేశపు ప్రజానీకం ఎంతో కాలంగా బాపా ప్రయత్న రాష్ట్రాలు కావాలని కోరుతున్నారు. కాని ప్రభుత్వం యీ బాపా ప్రయత్న రాష్ట్ర సిద్ధాంతాలను అంగీకరించకుండా వ్యతిరేక స్పృహవము నవలంబించుచున్నది. ఆంధ్రులు ఎన్నో సత్యాగ్రహాలు, ప్రాణత్యాగాలు చేశారు, కాబట్టి యీనాటివరకు పోరాటము సాగించి రాష్ట్రము తెచ్చుకోగలిగారంటే, ఆంధ్రుల పట్టుదలను రుజువుచేస్తున్నది. కాని, కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం అవలంబించే పద్ధతి చూడగా యీ ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము చాలా బలహీనమైన రాష్ట్రంగా చేస్తున్నప్పుడు, బాపా రాష్ట్రాలకు వ్యతిరేకమనే రుజువు కాగలదు. ఇప్పుడు ఆంధ్రులకు రాష్ట్రము ఇవ్వటములో వేచి పద్ధతులను అవలంబించి, కుట్ర పన్ని, బలహీన రాష్ట్రమును యిస్తున్నారని తేలుతున్నది. ఎందుచేతనంటే, తమిళులు, తెలుగువారు కలిసివున్న భువడి మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రమునకు ఆస్తి అప్పులకు సంబంధించిన యావత్తు విషయాలను గురించి బిల్లులో క్లాజువారి చర్చ జరగబోతున్నది. ఈ చర్చలకు సంబంధించినది. ముఖ్యముగా తుంగభద్ర ప్రాజెక్టు విషయము. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టును మన ప్రభుత్వం ఎంతో డబ్బు వ్యయపరచింది. అట్లాంటి ప్రాజెక్టు కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం అవశిష్ట మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రప్రభుత్వం సలహాలతో ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రమునకు ఉపయోగ పడకుండా మైసూరు ప్రభుత్వానికి కట్టబెట్టి, ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రమును బలహీన పరచుచున్నారని అంటున్నాను.

“ఇక పోతే బళ్లారి విషయం తీసుకుంటే, సరిహద్దుల విషయములో తగాదాలు వచ్చినవి. బళ్లారి తాలూకాను ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములో చేరాలని ఆంధ్రులు తగాదా చేస్తున్నారు. అట్లాంటిది యీ తాలూకాను మైసూరు రాష్ట్రానికి కేంద్ర

15th July 1953]

[Sri G. C. Kondayya]

ప్రభుత్వం కట్టబెట్టే చూస్తున్నారు. ఇట్లు చేయుటవల్ల ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రానికి వెండవల
సిన బళ్లారి తాలూకా అందలి శుండే స్థిరాస్థి, భవనాలు మొదలగునవి, ఆంధ్ర
రాష్ట్రము పోగొట్టుకుంటున్నది. అది ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రమును నష్టపరిచిపెట్టే గదా!
ఈ తాలూకా విషయంలో 1950 వ సంవత్సరపు census ప్రకారం యీ
తాలూకా, మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రముకు చెందినదే నని, నిర్ణయించినట్లు ఆ census
లో ఉన్నది. ఇట్టిను వాందూ రిపోర్టు ప్రకారము చూస్తే కూడా బళ్లారి, తదితర
సరిహద్దు ప్రాంతాలన్నియు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములో కలిపి వేయాలని సూచించారు. ఆటు
తర్వాత, కేంద్రప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇట్టిను మిక్తా గారిని పంపారు. వీరి నివేదికలో
బళ్లారి తాలూకాను మైసూరు రాష్ట్రంలో చేర్చాలని నిర్ణయించారు. కాని దీని
అంత్య నిర్ణయం plebiscite ద్వారా నిర్ణయించవలసియ్యున్నదని ప్రజలు కోరుతున్నారు.
అయినప్పటికీ బళ్లారి విషయములో యిటువంటి ఆక్రమ నివేదికను మిక్తాగారు
పంపినందులకు అత్యంత కోపనియమైన విషయమని తెలుతున్నది. ఈ తగాదాలు
పరిష్కరించటానికి కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఒక సరిహద్దు సంఘాన్ని ఏర్పాటు
చేస్తామని ప్రకటించియున్నారు. మైసూరు రాష్ట్రములో చేర్చకుండా, కనీసము
అవశిష్ట మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో చేర్చుతామని అన్నట్లయితే, ఆంధ్రజాతి యీ
విధంగా బాధపడవలసిన అవసరం వుండదు. అలాంటిప్పుడు రాజీయే బౌండరీ
కమిషను ఏర్పాటు అయి, కార్యక్రమం జరపటానికి ఏ రెండేడ్లూ, మూడేడ్లూ
అయిదేడ్లూ పడుతుంది గనుక అంతవరకు యీ బళ్లారి తాలూకాను, తదితర
ప్రాంతాలను యిప్పుడు కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం తలపెట్టివీరిగా మైసూరు రాష్ట్రములో
చేర్చకుండా, అంతవరకు యీ అవశిష్ట మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములోగాని, ఆంధ్ర
రాష్ట్రములోగాని ఉంచితే యీమధ్య రాజీయే సంఘర్షణలు మొదలయిన చిక్కులు
రాకుండాపోతవి. అందువల్ల ఇదివరకు మాదిరిగానే ప్రస్తుతం ఏ యే ప్రాంతాలు
ఎక్కడైతే వున్నాయో ఆయో రాష్ట్రాలలో ఉంచితేనే మంచిదని నా అభిప్రాయం
అంతేగాని, యీ బళ్లారి తాలూకాను మైసూరులో చేర్చడంవల్ల అనేక తగాదా
లకు దారితీయగలదని హెచ్చరిస్తున్నాను. ఇంతేకాకుండా ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి
వ్యతిరేకంగా మరొక రాష్ట్రంలో చేర్చడంలో అర్థంలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.
అట్లాచేస్తే మద్రాసు, ఆంధ్ర, మైసూరు రాష్ట్రాలు యేవిధంగాను నష్టపడజాలవు.
ఒక రాష్ట్రప్రాంతమును మరొక రాష్ట్రానికి చేర్చితే, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి విరుద్ధ
ముగా నుండుటయే గాకుండా, ఒక రాష్ట్రము కారకు మరొక రాష్ట్రమును నష్టపర
చడమనని తెలుసుకోవాలి.

“బళ్లారి లీసుకు వెళ్లి మైసూరులో కలవసునడం దానితరువాత బళ్లారి
ఆంధ్రుల ఆందోళనకీయ పరచుటకొరకు, వారిని కించపరచుటకొరకు కాంగ్రెసు
సెక్రటరీ మాట్లాడడానికి వీలులేదనడం, తరువాత యూనియన్ ప్రధానికి ప్రజలుకూడా
లీస్సానాలు చేసేవనడం జరిగింది. వాటినిన్నిటినిపట్టి ఏమి తెలుస్తుందంటే ప్రధానంగా
ఆంధ్రులు ఎంతోకాలంనుంచి తుంగభద్రా ప్రాజెక్టుకావాలని ఆందోళన చేస్తూవచ్చారు.
ఆ ప్రాజెక్టుపూర్తి అవుతోందని, సంతోషపడుతుంటే ఆ ప్రాజెక్టు మైసూరు స్టేటులో
కవినేయడం జరిగింది. ఆ ప్రాజెక్టు ప్రధానంగా రాయలసీమకు నీళ్లు ఇచ్చేది. దాని
మీద ఆంధ్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి అధికారం నిర్వచించకుండా, ఆ ఖర్చు ఆంధ్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి
రుద్దదానికి ఆలోచిస్తున్నట్లు కనిపిస్తోంది. ఈ విధంగా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని బలహీన
మైన రాష్ట్రంగాచేసి, deficit రాష్ట్రంగా చూపించి సరిహద్దులూ తగాదాలు పెట్టి,
భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలు ఉపయోగకరంగా ఉండవనీ, నిరుపయోగమనీ, ఇతరుల రెవ్వరూ
భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలకొరకు ఉద్యమాలు లేవదీయకుండా చేయడానికి ప్రభుత్వం

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ఈ విధంగా చేస్తే సోదన ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లు విషయం మాట్లాడుచున్నప్పుడు తమిళ సోదరులుగాని, కన్నడ సోదరులుగానీ, వారి హక్కులు అవహరించుటకు మాట్లాడుతున్నారని అనుకోవలసిన అవసరంలేదు. కార్మికులు న్యాయమైన కోర్కెలు అడిగితే పెట్టుబడిదారులను నిందించడం కాదు. కార్మికులు తప్పకుండా న్యాయమైన హక్కులు కోరుతారు. ఇది పెట్టుబడిదారులమీద ద్వేషం వురి కొల్లుతున్నారంటే అర్థం చేదు. ఆంధ్రులకు, ఆంధ్రేశ్వరులకు సహజమైన ద్వేషాలు రెచ్చగొట్టడానికి ప్రయత్నాలు చెయ్యడం అన్యాయం. అట్లా ద్వేషించు కోవడం సరియైనది కాదు. ఆంధ్రులు మాట్లాడుచున్నప్పుడు తమిళులకు, కన్నడిగులకు వాదగా ఉండవచ్చును. ఉదయం మాట్లాడిన సోదరుడు వినాయకంగారు ఆంధ్రుల మీద అనేక విసురులు విసిరారు. తిరుత్తణి ఉద్యమానికి బళ్లారి ఉద్యమాన్ని పోలుస్తూ మాట్లాడారు. బళ్లారి ఉద్యమమీద జస్టిను మిత్రాగారు, కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం తీర్పు ఇచ్చినప్పటికీ, ఆందోళన చేస్తున్నారట, తీర్పుకు కట్టుబడి ఆంధ్రులు ఉండలేదుట. ఆ మాదిరిగా తిరుత్తణి విషయంలో తీర్పు ఇచ్చి ఉంటే తమిళులు కట్టుబడి ఉంటారట. బళ్లారి ఆంధ్రులు కట్టుబడి ఉండరట. అనవసరంగా ఆందోళన లేవదీస్తున్నారట. ఆంధ్రులు చాల ఉండే, ఆంధ్రజాతికి రావలసిన భాగాన్ని తప్పకుండా దోరాడి సాధించుకుంటారు. Tamil మాట్లాడే ప్రాంతాలు, తమిళ సంస్కృతి ఉన్న ప్రాంతాలైతే, తప్పకుండా అడుగుటకు తమిళులకు హక్కుంది. కాని ఆ విషయవహారం చూడకోకుండా బళ్లారి ఆంధ్రులమీద విసురులు విసరడం జరిగింది. ఆంధ్రులలో ఆంధ్రులకు తగవులు పెట్టడానికి, ఇతరులపై ద్వేషం రెచ్చగొట్టడానికి కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం చేసిన కుట్రలు మరచిపోయి, మనలో మనకు ద్వేషం రెచ్చగొట్టుకుకు ఆయన ఉపన్యాసం దారి తీస్తోంది. అవిధంగా చేయకూడదని తమిళ సోదరులను ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. మదరాసు ఎస్సెస్మెంట్ సభ్యులందరూ చాలా సుహృద్భావంతో ఈ విషయం ఆలోచించవలసి యుంటుంది. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి ఎంత గొడవజరిగిందో, తప్పకుండా బళ్లారి విషయం లోనూడా, బళ్లారి ఆంధ్రులు అంతగొడవా చేయవలసియుంటుంది. కన్నడ సోదరులు తమ రాష్ట్రం ఆశించినంత మాత్రాన లాభంలేదు. అక్రమంగా కన్నడ ప్రాంతాలు కలిపినా తప్పకుండా నిర్భందంగా ఒక ప్రాంతంలో చేర్చినంత మాత్రాన అభివృద్ధి చెందడంగాని, బాగుపడడంగాని జరగదని కన్నడ సోదరులు అర్థం చేసుకొని, ఆంధ్రుల సరసమైన హక్కులు ఇవ్వవలసియుంటుంది. ఆ విధంగా చేసినప్పుడే ఈ సరిహద్దులలోయన్న వైశమ్యాలు తొలగగలవు. ఈ సమావేశంలో రానున్న amendments మీద సభ్యులందరూ ఆలోచించి, న్యాయమైన ఆంధ్రుల కోర్కెలను, అనగా సాంస్కృతిక సార్వభౌమ్యం బట్టి విద్యాసంస్థల విషయంలో ఇవ్వవలసియుంది. వివిధమైన విద్యేపాలు లేకుండా బళ్లారి సమస్య పరిష్కరించ వలసిన అవసరం ఉంది. ఇక్కడ ఉన్నతమిళ, కన్నడ, మళయాళీ సోదరులు ఈ విషయంలో పూర్తిగా సహాయంచేస్తారని, clause by clause వర్చ వచ్చినప్పుడు పూర్తి సహకారం ఇచ్చి ఈ బిల్లు సుముఖంగా కేంద్రప్రభుత్వానికి కంపుతారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను. గత 20 సంవత్సరాలుగా Electricity విషయంలోగాని, రోడ్ల విషయంగాని, చూచుకుంటే తమిళ ప్రాంతంలోనే ఎక్కువ ఖర్చుపెట్టిన సంగతి రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కూడా కాదనలేరు. తమిళ ప్రాంతం అనేక విధాల అభివృద్ధి చేసుకున్నారనే విషయమై మనం దెబ్బలాడ వలసిన అవసరంలేదు. అవిధంగా తమిళ ప్రాంతం ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతంతో పోల్చినప్పుడు ఎక్కువ అభివృద్ధి కల్పిస్తూ ఉన్నారు. అందువల్ల ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి ఆస్పలు, నిలవలు లీసుకోవలసి వచ్చినప్పుడు అన్యాయం జరుగుతోంది. ఈ విషయంలో న్యాయంచేయకపోతే, ఏ రకంగా తయారవుతుందంటే పెద్దపాళ్లు తమ బిడ్డలకు చదువుపెప్పించు కుంటూ, సిల్కు బట్టలు మాత్రమే కట్టించుతూ,

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ఇతరుల విధ్వలనకు చూడకుండా స్వార్థంతో పనిచేస్తే, మీదవాళ్లు తప్పకుండా ద్వేషం పురికొల్పుతారు. ఈ వేళ ఆంధ్రులు రాష్ట్రం కోరుతున్నారు. కాబట్టి, వారికి ప్రాయశ్చిత్తం చేయడానికి రాబడి, ఖర్చు లెక్కకట్టి నష్టపరిహారం ఇవ్వకుండా, నష్టమే చూపించి అప్పులు మెడకు కడితే చాలా చిక్కులు వస్తాయి. వి. రాష్ట్రాంగ్ సంగం పొట్టి శ్రీరాములుగారు ఆత్మార్పణ చేశారో అనేకమంది యువకులు ప్రాణాలు త్యాగం చేశారో వాటిఫలితంగా వచ్చిన ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం కరువు కాటకాలతో బాధపడుతుంది. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మాట్లాడుతూ స్వాతంత్ర్యం వచ్చినప్పుడు దేశమంతా వి విధంగా సంతోషించిందో, ఆ విధంగానే ఆంధ్రులు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం వచ్చినప్పుడు ఆదే విధంగా సంతోషిస్తారని అన్నారు. 1947 లో స్వాతంత్ర్యం వచ్చినప్పుడు జండాలు ఎగురవేసి తినుటకు కూడు దొరుకుతుంది, కట్టోకోడానికి బట్ట దొరుకుతుందని ప్రజలు వివిధంగా ఆశించారో, ఆ విధంగానే ఆంధ్రులకూడా ఈ సుభ సమయంలో ఆశిస్తున్నారని కరువుకాటకాలు తప్పకుండా పోతాయని అనేస్తే, ఇది నిజమైన స్వాతంత్ర్యం కాదని తెలుసుకోవడానికి రెండు మూడేళ్లు పట్టింది. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం వచ్చింది కాని కరువుకాటకాలు పోలేదట, బల్లారి మనకు లేదట, లోటు రాష్ట్రమట మదరాసు ప్రభుత్వం మనకు నష్టపరిహారం ఇవ్వదట, ఈ రాష్ట్రం రాకపోలే విమి అని చాలామందిలో నిస్పృహ బయల్పడింది. స్వాతంత్ర్యం వచ్చిన తరువాత ఆంధ్రులు తమ న్యాయమైన కోరికలు గుర్తింపబడతాయని సక్రమ మార్గంలో తమ జాతి వికాసానికి వీలయిన పద్ధతులలో ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం విభజించటం జరుగుతుందని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం ఆ విధంగా చేయటం ఇక్కడ ఉన్న అన్ని భావలవారు, పార్టీలవారు తోడ్పడి సరిహద్దు ప్రాంతాలలో అనగా బల్లారి మొదలైన ప్రాంతాలలో తప్పనిసరిగా పాండరి కమిషన్ ద్వారాగాని, డైరీనైటు ద్వారాగాని ప్రదాని ప్రాయం సేకరించుటకు తోడ్పడతారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయాలన్నీ కొట్లాటలు లేకుండా, ప్రజాస్వామ్య పద్ధతులపై పరిష్కరింప బడతాయని, ఆంధ్రుల సక్రమమైన కోరికలకు న్యాయం జరిగేట్లు చేస్తారని ఆశిస్తూ, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర వతరణకు సంతోషం వెలిబుచ్చుతున్నాను.”

* SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—“ అధ్యక్ష మహాశయా, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం బిల్లును నేను బలపరుస్తున్నాను.”

SRI B. SANKARAYYA :—“ Sir, on a point of order అధ్యక్షా, ఇక్కడకు వచ్చిన తరువాత ఒక ప్రకటన అంద చేసారు. దానినిబట్టి అసెంబ్లీ సభ్యులకు వుండే ప్రాథమిక హక్కులకు భంగం వాటిల్లే విధంగా వుంది. అసెంబ్లీ సభ్యులు ప్రశ్నలు వేసి సమాధానాలు పొందే అధికారం ఉంది. పార్లమెంటులో అయితే వేసిన ప్రశ్నకు ఎప్పటికైనా సమాధానం వస్తుందని అశించడానికి అవకాశం వుంది. ఇక్కడ అది కూడా వున్నట్లు లేదు. ఎన్నైయినా కొన్ని ప్రశ్నలకు జవాబే రావడం లేదు. ఇప్పుడు స్పీకరుగారు అంద చేసిన దేమిటంటే.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I know the point of order. There are five hundred questions more to be answered, and I want to finish all those questions in this session. Therefore, I have asked the Secretary to issue that circular.”

* SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—“ భావా రాష్ట్రాలు వస్తే దేశ భ్యదయం కలుగుతుంది అని నమ్మేవారిలో నేను ఒకణ్ణి. అదే విధంగా ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం వస్తే ఆంధ్ర జాతి పురోగమించగలదని చెబితే చాలుననుకుంటాను. వి జాతీయతకుగాని సంస్కృతి, భాష, వేషం ప్రధానమని నా అభిప్రాయం. అందువల్ల

[Sri P. Venkatasubbayya]

[15th July 1953]

ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం వచ్చినట్లయితే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఆంధ్రభాషలోనే నడుపుకోవచ్చును. ఇప్పుడు ఇక్కడ ఉండేటటువంటి ప్రజాప్రతినిధుల వరుస చూచినట్లయితే, మిగతా వారు మాట్లాడేది ఆంధ్రులకు తెలియదు. ఆంధ్రులు మాట్లాడేవిషయం అరవలకు తెలియదు. ఇలా చర్చలన్నీ కూడా అందరు సభ్యులకు అర్థంకాని పరిస్థితుల్లో నడచి పోతున్నాయి. అందువల్ల ఇక్కడనుంచి తమ నియోజకవర్గాలకు పోయినప్పుడు ప్రజలకు శాసనసభలో ఏమి జరిగిందో తెలియచేసే అవకాశం సభ్యులకు లేకుండా పోతోంది. అందువల్ల ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం వచ్చినట్లయితే ప్రభుత్వంలోను, శాసనసభలోను జరిగే వ్యవహారాల్ని సమగ్రంగా ప్రజలకు తెలియజేయటానికి అవకాశం ఉంటుంది. ప్రజలకు కూడా ప్రభుత్వ వ్యవహారాలు అర్థంచేసుకోగలుగుతారు. ఆంధ్ర జాతి పురోగమించడానికి వీలు అవుతుంది. ఒకటి తీసుకొని ఆలోచించినట్లయితే తెలుస్తుంది. ఉంగ్లండు, ఆమెరికా, జపాను దేశాలలో ప్రజలు మాట్లాడేభాషలోనే ప్రభుత్వ వ్యవహారాలు నడుపబడుతున్నాయి. అందుకు ప్రభుత్వ వ్యవహారాలు అర్థం చేసుకోగలుగుతారు. వారందరూ తమ జాతీయతను సూచించే సంస్కృతిని పాటించడముచేత, వేషము వేయడంచేత పురోగమించి ఉచ్చస్థితికి వచ్చియున్నారు. ఏ జాతి అయితే తన సంస్కృతిని వేషభాషలను కాదని ఇతర సంస్కృతిని వేషభాషలను అనుకరించి అలవాటుచేసుకోడానికి ప్రయత్నంచేస్తుందో దానికలి హంస, కాకి కాకుండా అవడం జరుగుతుంది. ఇప్పుడు చూడండి తెలుగువారు కొందరు అరవ వేషం వేస్తున్నారు. అంటే అడ్డకట్టు కడుతున్నారు. అలాగే కొంతమంది అరవవారు తెలుగువేషం వేస్తున్నారు. ఇంగ్లీషువారు పరిపాలనచేసే రోజుల్లోను, కొంతమంది ఇప్పుడును ఇంగ్లీషువారి వేషాన్ని వేయడం జరిగింది. వీటన్నింటివల్ల జాతీయత, సంస్కృతి, నాగరికత నాశమైపోతుంది. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం వచ్చినట్లయితే ఆంధ్ర జాతీయత, ఆంధ్ర సంస్కృతి, ఆంధ్ర నాగరికత పురోగమించగలవనే విశ్వాసంతో ఈ బిల్లును నేను బలపరుస్తున్నాను. భాషారాష్ట్రాలే వద్దు. ఆని చెప్పేవారు ఉన్నారు. కాని ఏ దేశమైనా భాషాప్రయుక్తంగా విభజించినప్పుడు పురోగమిస్తుంది కాని ఎలాంటి విపరీత ఫలితాలు కలుగవు. ప్రారంభంలో కొన్ని చిక్కులు రావచ్చు. అవి తాత్కాలికమే కాని శాశ్వతంకావు. ఆ చిక్కులు పరిష్కారానికి ప్రభుత్వం తగు చర్య తీసుకున్నట్లయితే దేశాల పురోగమించడం జరుగుతుంది. కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వమువారు భాషారాష్ట్రాల నిర్మాణానికి నాందిగా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం ఏర్పాటుచేస్తున్నామని అన్నారు. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం ఏర్పడిన ఉత్తరోత్ర ఇతర భాషారాష్ట్రాల విషయంలో చర్య తీసుకుంటారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను. సూత్రంగా ఏర్పడే ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రంలో సుస్థిరమైన ప్రభుత్వం ఏర్పరచి రాష్ట్రం పురోగమించటానికి సాయశక్తులా అందరు శాసనసభ్యులు సహాయంచేయమని ప్రార్థిస్తూ, ఈ బిల్లు బలపరుస్తూ నేను ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI C. KANDASWAMI :—“కనమ సబానాయకర్ అవరకణే, శ్రుతీర మాకాణం మశోతావానతు నమ మ్రంబ, పరిశిలినేకకుం, ఇంద్రియ శరక్కారుక్కు సిపార్శు శయవతర్కం విదప్పదీరుక్కురతు. ఇంద్రి శ్రుతీర మాకాణం పిరివిణే మశోతావానం పర్తియి, అతిల ఉణ్ణదన్దియిరుక్కుం పిరివిక్కు, అతణ్ణం యరపద ఇరుక్కుం పల శిక్కులక్కు శ్రుతి వివిక్కులక్కు యల్లవావర యెయి యరకెణవేయే పల అన్కుత్తిణ్ణక్కుం పేసిలిదార్కు. క్రుతిప్పాక ఇంద్రిప్పక్కుత్తిలిరుక్కుం యెనతు నణ్ణం జీవానన్దం అవరక్కుం కమ్మిణిన్దో కదసియిన్ కణ్ణణ్ణదత్తేదో, కరుత్తేదోదత్తేదో వెక్కు తెణివాకం పేసియిరుక్కురతు. ఇరుప్పిణ్ణంకూ, ఇణ్ణయతిణ్ణం శ్రుతీర మాకాణం పిరివిణే మశోతావానంపర్తి నాం వివాతిక్కుంబోతు, ఇణ్ణయతిణ్ణం శ్రుతీర మక్కుం తన్కులక్కుకెన్దు యెక్కు తణి మాకాణం యరపదం పోక్కుర తెన్దు పెరుమిత్తం కుణ్ణన్దంబోతు, ఇంద్రి నాదీలన్దం శ్రుత్తి కదసి

15th July 1953]

[Sri C. Kandaswami]

யினரும் சரி, மற்ற இதர கட்சிகளைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கும் சரி ஒரு மகத்தான உண்மையை, நல்ல படிப்பினையை தெரிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்த சபைமுன்பு நமது சிபார்சு தேடி வந்திருக்கிற மசோதாவானது இந்திய சர்க்காரால் அளிக்கப்பட்ட வரப்பிரசாதம் இல்லை. அந்த மசோதாவிற்குப் பின்னர் பொன்னேடுகளில் பொறிக்கப்படவேண்டிய முப்பது வருஷ சரித் திரம் இருக்கின்றது. அந்த முப்பது வருஷ சரித்திரத்தின், அந்த முப்பது வருஷ இடையறு போராட்டத்தின், அந்த முப்பது வருஷ தியாகத்தின் பயனாகத்தான் இந்த முடிவை இந்த சர்க்காரும் சரி, இந்திய சர்க்காரும் சரி எடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை உங்களுக்குச் சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். கடந்த முப்பது ஆண்டுகளாகவே ஆந்திர மாகாணக் கிளர்ச்சி இருந்து கொண்டே வந்திருக்கிறது. இந்தியாவுக்குச் சுதந்திரம் வருவதற்கு முன்பும் கூட, சுதந்திரம் வந்துவிட்ட பிறகும் கூட, தங்கள் மொழியை வளர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்காக, தங்கள் கலாசாரத்தை வளர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்காக, தங்கள் பிரதேசத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலையை உயர்த்திக் கொள்வதற்காக தங்களுக்கென தனி மாகாணம் வேண்டுமெனக் குரல் கொடுத்து போராட ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். இந்த சர்க்காரும், மத்திய சர்க்காரும் அதை நசுக்கப் பார்த்தார்கள். வளர விடாமல் தத்துவம் பேசி அம்மாதிரி மொழி வாரியாக மாகாணம் அமைப்பது நாட்டிற்கே கெடுதிவென்பதாகவும் சொல்லிப்பார்த்தார்கள். அதற்கெல்லாம் மனந்தளராத, ஊக்கம் குன்றாத போராடிய ஆந்திரர்களின் சுய வெற்றி இது என்று நான் கூற விரும்புகிறேன். அவர்கள் தியாகத்தின் பயனை இன்று அவர்கள் அடைந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதை ஆட்சியாளர்கள் நன்று புரிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும். இதேமாதிரியாக மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் அமைக்கவேண்டுமென்று நாடு பூராவும் குமுறல் இருந்துகொண்டே யிருக்கிறது. நாடு பூர மக்களின் இதயக் குரல் கேட்டுக்கொண்டே யிருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் பல கிளர்ச்சிகளையும் செய்கொண்டே வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆந்திர மாகாணம் ஏற்பட இருக்கின்றது அவர்கள் எல்லோருக்கும் சந்தோஷத்தை விளைவிப்பதோடு கூட, மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணம் அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று கிளர்ச்சிகள் நடத்திக் கொண்டிருக்கிற பல பேர்களுக்கும் ஊக்கம் கொடுக்கும். ஆந்திர மாகாணம் ஏற்படவேண்டும். தமிழ் மாகாணம் ஏற்படவேண்டும், ஐக்கிய கேரள மாகாணம் ஏற்படவேண்டுமென்ற இதயக் குமுறலானது பல காலமாகவே இருந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. தங்கள் தங்கள் கலாசாரத்தை வளர்த்துக்கொள்ள, தங்கள் தங்கள் மொழியை வளர்த்துக்கொள்ள, தங்கள் தங்கள் பிரதேசத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலையை உயர்த்திக்கொள்ள, தங்கள் தங்கள் அரசியல் நிர்வாகம் எல்லாவற்றையும் தங்கள் மொழியிலேயே நடத்திக்கொண்டு சாதாரணத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் அதில் பங்கு கொள்ள வசதியை உண்டாக்க மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் அமைத்துக் கொண்டாக வேண்டுமென்று திட எண்ணம் பூண்டு விட்டார்கள். இதற்கு சர்க்கார் வசதி அளிக்கவேண்டும், ஆந்திர மாகாணம் அமைப்பதோடு கூட இருந்துவிடக் கூடாது. ஆந்திர மக்கள் திட சங்கல்பம் செய்து கொண்டு போராடியதால்தான் அவர்கள் தனி மாகாணம் அடையமுடிந்தது. அவர்கள் காட்டிய வழியிலேயே மற்றவர்களும் போராட திட்டமிட்டுவிட்டார்கள். போராடவேதான் போகிறார்கள். ஆந்திர மாகாணம் அமைப்பதற்கு சர்க்காருக்குஇஷ்டம் இல்லாவிட்டாலும் கூட, இன்றையதினமும்அது சம்பந்தமாக அனேக அபிப்பிராயபேதங்கள் இருந்தபோதிலும்கூட, எப்படி ஆந்திர மாகாணத்தை அமைத்தே தீருவது என்ற முடிவுக்கு வந்துவிட்டார்களோ, அப்படி பலவந்தமாக மொழிவாரி மாகாணத்தை அமைப்பதற்கு மக்கள் போராட்டம் தொடங்கும்முன் சர்க்காரே அதற்கு வேண்டிய எல்லா நடவடிக்கைகளையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்வதுதான் புத்திசாலித்தனமாகும். அதுமட்டுமல்ல. ஆந்திர மாகாணத்தைப் பிரிக்கும்போதும் அதில் ஏராளமான சிக்கல்களை உண்டாக்குவது சரியல்ல. எல்லாப் பிரச்சினைகளுக்கும், எல்லாக் கஷ்டங்களுக்கும் சரியான முறையில் பரிசாரம் காண வசதி இருக்கும்போது அதை விட்டுவிட்டு, தப்பாக ஒரு வழியில் செல்வது நாட்டுக்கு உகந்தது அல்ல. இப்போது பாருங்கள், சித்தூரிலே தமிழர்கள் கிளர்ச்சி செய்கிறார்கள். பெல்லாரியிலே தெலுங்கர்கள் கிளர்ச்சி செய்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதற்கெல்லாம் அடிப்படையான காரணம் என்ன? அன்றே ஒரு எல்லை பிரிவினைக் கமிஷன் ஏற்படுத்தப்படுமென்று சர்க்கார் அறிவித்திருந்தாலும்,

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இந்த எல்லைகளை சரியாக நிர்ணயிக்க ஒரு கமிஷன்; ஏற்படுத்தப்படும் என்று சட்டத்தில் கண்டிருந்தால் எவ்வளவோ நல்லதாக இருக்கும். மேலும் இந்தச் சட்டத்திலே பல ரகளைகள் ஏற்படும் வகையில் பல ஷரத்துகள் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. இதுமாதிரியாக அவைசியமான ரகளைகள் ஏற்படாமல் இருக்க தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு முற்றுப்புள்ளி வைத்துவிடவேண்டும். தலைநகர் பிரச்சினையில் இந்த சர்க்காரும் சரி, மத்திய சர்க்காரும் சரி, தெலுங்கர்கள் தெலுங்கர்களுக்குள்ளேயே சண்டை போட்டுக் கொள்ளும்படி செய்து வேடிக்கை பார்த்தது சரியல்ல. விரும்பப்படாத ஆரம்பக்கல்வி சீர்திருத்தத்தை யாரையும் கலந்துகொள்ளாமல் கொண்டு வந்து புகுத்துவதற்கு முன் சட்டசபையைக் கலந்துகொள்ள விரும்பாத சர்க்கார், தலைநகர் பிரச்சினையை மாத்திரம் அவர்களே தேர்ந்தெடுத்துக் கொள்ளட்டுமென்று அவர்கள் அடித்துக்கொள்வதை தூர இருந்து வேடிக்கை பார்க்கும்படியான ஒரு நிலையை உண்டு பண்ணியது மிகவும் வருந்தத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். இதுமாதிரியாக பல சிக்கல்களை வேண்டுமென்றே புகுத்தாமல் நியாயமாக, மக்களின் நன்மைக்காக கோரப் படுகின்ற பாஷாவாரி மாகாணங்களை உடனடியாக ஆந்திர மாகாணம் ஏற்பட்ட கையுடனேயே அமைக்க நமது சர்க்கார் முன்னுக்கு வரவேண்டும். தமிழர் ராஜ்யம் ஏற்பட்டாக வேண்டும். மலையாளிகள் ராஜ்யம் ஏற்பட்டாக வேண்டும். கேரளர்கள் ராஜ்யம் ஏற்பட்டாக வேண்டும். இந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணப் பிரிவினையிலும்கூட நிதி சம்பந்தமான பரிவர்த்தனைகள், உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் சம்பந்தமான பரிவர்த்தனைகள், ஆஸ்திகள் சம்பந்தமான பரிவர்த்தனைகள் எல்லாம் நேரடியாக, பட்சபாதமின்றி நடத்திவைக்க சர்க்கார் தக்க நடவடிக்கையை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ஆளும் கட்சியார் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் ஏற்படவேண்டுமென்ற மக்களின் இதயக் குமுறலை இப்பொழுதாவது பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்துகொண்டு அந்த மக்களின் ஆசையை, இதயக் குமுறலை தீர்த்துவைக்க தக்க முயற்சி எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, மகத்தான பல போராட்டங்களையும், தியாகத்தை செய்து வெற்றிபெற்று இருக்கின்ற ஆந்திரர்கள் தங்கள் மாகாணம் பூர்ணமாக அமைந்து வேலை செய்ய ஆரம்பித்தவுடனும், பல தியாகங்களையும், சேவைகளையும் புரிந்து மேலும் மேலும் வெற்றியுடன் நல்ல முறையில் வாழவேண்டுமென்று நான் வேண்டிக் கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI IJARI SIRASAPPA :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is needless to say that all the Members of this House welcome this Bill. They feel happy over this Bill. Not only Members in this House, but people outside belonging to Maharashtra, Gujarat and other places, who want to form their States on linguistic basis, are feeling happy over this Bill. As Mr. Anantha Pai was telling you, the one State in the whole of India that is hard hit is the Karnataka State, which is distributed over five States and which has no majority anywhere. It has no voice in any of these States. Even in Madras the Kannada group of this Assembly is a negligible minority. In Bombay the Kannada group in the Legislative Assembly is a negligible one. That is the case even in Hyderabad State, and other portions of the country. Hence the Kannada people were not able to make themselves felt in any of these States. The leaders of the country were of the opinion and were convinced that the people of Karnataka were hard hit, and that the Kannadigas had the top priority in having a State of their own. Anyhow the Government of India felt that the formation of the Andhra State was easier, and so they conceded the formation of the Andhra State first. We Kannadigas also are feeling happy

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[Sri Ijari Sirasappa]

over the formation of the Andhra State because with the formation of the Andhra State, the Karnataka State would follow. I have nothing more to say than to appreciate and welcome this Bill, and give it all the support the Kannadiga group can give in this House. During the discussion of this Bill, in the last two days, many hon. Members have been referring to the question of Bellary. This movement for the re-distribution of States on linguistic basis dates back to as early as 1920-21. Then Mr. Kelkar was appointed to go into the question and demarcate the boundaries of the Linguistic Congress Committees which were functioning in the country. In his report, Mr. Kelkar very clearly stated that even though the three taluks of Bellary district, namely, Alur, Adoni, and Rayadurg, were predominantly Kannada, for administrative purposes and for carrying on excellent propaganda work through the Congress Committees, these three taluks should go to the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Since then we Kannadigas have been agitating that that is an injustice done, and that these three taluks should not go to Andhra but should go to Karnataka and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. Since then so many committees and sub-committees were appointed to go into the boundary dispute. Even as early as 1933 there was a move from the friends of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to open their District Congress Committee office in Bellary town even as they had an office in Madras. We opposed the move, and the All-India Congress Committee did not permit the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to have the Andhra District Congress Committee office in Bellary. The Andhra friends have forgotten that. Even before the Dhar Commission nothing about Bellary was said. Only in regard to these three taluks our Andhra friends put forward their claim. Even in the Partition Committee, the question of Bellary was not raised. The Partition Committee were content, they were satisfied, and they were convinced that Bellary along with the other six taluks did not belong to Andhra. But unfortunately for us the question of Bellary and Bellary taluk was kept under suspense by the Government of India, by the announcement of our Prime Minister. This has given an impetus to our Andhra friends to fight for Bellary town and Bellary taluk. They are finding fault with the Government of India and our Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister said that the boundary disputes and other disputes should first be settled among the people, and then only the Government of India would come forward for the formation of States on linguistic lines, people were telling that the Government of India under Pandit Nehru was following the British policy of asking people to come to some understanding before forming Provinces like Andhra, Karnataka, etc. But what is it that we now see? We are fighting over small areas; areas which do not belong to the Andhras. I feel that much unpleasantness has already been created between the Kannadigas and Andhras over the issue of Bellary. I request my Andhra friends not to stir up this agitation any more and not to give room for greater unpleasantness among ourselves. Let them do away with this Bellary issue for the time being, as an award has been passed by the Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court,

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appointed by the Government of India. It is not any representation made before some non-official commission. An award has been given already. There is no question of raking up that issue and bringing more unpleasantness among ourselves. Anyhow, we look forward to our Andhra friends to make their Government a stable and prosperous Government. Because, the formation of the Karnataka State depends upon the stability of the Andhra State. So, I request my Andhra friends and even my Tamilian friends also to forget all their differences for the time being and look forward to the stability and prosperity of their respective States and help others in forming their States. Thank you, Sir."

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p.m.

*SRI A. GOVINDASWAMI NAYAGAR :—“கனம் சபைத் தலைவர் அவர்களே ! ஆந்திர தேசம் மொழியின் அடிப்படையில் பிரிவதை வரவேற்று பேசும்போது சில வார்த்தைகளைச் சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். வெள்ளைக்காரர்கள் நம் நாட்டிற்கு வியாபாரத்திற்காக வந்தார்கள். பிறகு நம் நாட்டில் ஆட்சிபீடத்தில் அமர்ந்து நம் நாட்டை வியாபார ஸ்தலமாக ஆக்கிக்கொண்டு இந்த நாட்டை சுரண்டிக் கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அதனால்தான் நம் தேசத்தில் இருக்கிற தேசிய உணர்ச்சி பெற்றுத் தலைவர்கள் அவ்வளவு பேர்களும் சிறை புகுந்து பல தியாகங்களைப் புரிந்து நமக்கு பரிபூரண சுயராஜ்யம் வேண்டும் என்று பாடுபட்டார்கள். அதே முறையில்தான் முகம்மதியர்களும் தாங்கள் பெருவாரியாக உள்ள நாட்டை பாகிஸ்தான் என்று அமைக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் பெரும் கிளர்ச்சி செய்து பல தியாகங்களைப் புரிந்து பாகிஸ்தானை அமைத்தார்கள். நாம் சுயராஜ்யம் கேட்போது இதெல்லாம் நடக்குமா என்று கூறினார்கள். பாகிஸ்தான் என்பது பகல் கனவு என்றார்கள். அப்பொழுது வெள்ளைக்காரர்கள் நம் நாட்டிற்கு வியாபாரம் மூலமாக வந்து இங்கிலாந்து பாஷையை அரசியல் பாஷையாக புகுத்தி இந்த மொழி மூலமாக நம்மை அடிமைப் படுத்தி வந்தார்கள். அதேமுறையில்தான் இன்றையதினம் வடநாட்டினர், டில்லி சர்க்கார், நம்மை அடிமைப்படுத்திக்கொண்டு தென் நாட்டை வியாபார ஸ்தலமாக வைத்துக்கொண்டு சுரண்டும் இடமாக வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இங்கு நாம் என்ன பார்க்கிறோம்—ஷேட்களும், மார்வாடிகளும் மெத்தையில் படுத்துக்கொண்டு வியாபாரம் செய்யும் நிலைமையை நாம் இப்பொழுது பார்க்கிறோம். திருச்சிக்கு அடுத்த கல்லக்குடி என்ற கிராமத்தை டால்மியாபுரம் என்ற வடநாட்டுப் பெயரை சூட்டி இருக்கிறார்கள். இதை யெல்லாம் ஒடுக்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவும், இந்த சுரண்டலை ஒழிக்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவும்தான் பெரியாரும், அறிஞர் அண்ணாவும் ஜவுனிக் கடையின் முன்பாக, வடநாட்டார் வியாபாரம் செய்யும் கடைகளின் முன்பாக தியாகம் செய்து மறியல் செய்தார்கள். இன்னும் பல தியாகங்களைச் செய்தார்கள். இதை அடிப்படையில் வைத்துக் கொண்டுதான் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் முதலில் பிரிந்து இறுதியில் இனத்தின் அடிப்படையில் நாம் ஒன்றுபட்டு இருக்கவேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத்தான் திராவிடக் கழகமும், திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகமும் வேலை செய்து வருகின்றன. இது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். திராவிடம் பிரிய வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத்தான் மதிப்பிற்குரிய மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கர் அவர்களும், பக்தவத்சலு அவர்களும், இன்னும் இந்தப் பக்கத்திலுள்ள 38 பேர்களும் கையெழுத்திட்டு சென்ற தேர்தலில் வெற்றிபெற்றோம். நாம் வடநாட்டை விட்டுப் பிரிந்து சுகமாக வாழவேண்டும் என்று தீர்மானித்தோம். காரணம் வடநாட்டார்கள் வரிகளையும், வருமானத்தையும் வாங்கிக் கொண்டு போகிறார்கள். இன்னும் சுரண்டல் மூலமாக இன்ஷூரன்ஸ் மூலமாகவும், பாங்குகள் மூலமாகவும் ஷேட்கள் சுரண்டிக்கொண்டு போகிறார்கள். ஏன்? கல்லக்குடியை டால்மியாபுரம் என்று மாற்றும் போது எதைத்தான் செய்யமாட்டார்கள். அதைப்போலவே சென்னையில் செனக்கார்பேட்டை என்று பெயர் வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஏன்? டில்லியில் காம்ராஜ் பேட்டை என்ற பெயரை வைக்க முடியுமா? அல்லது ராஜாஜி பேட்டை என்றுதான் வைக்கமுடியுமா? அஹமதாபாத்தில் இப்படி நம் நாட்டின் பெயரை வைக்கமுடியுமா? நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்களும்

15th July 1953] [Sri A. Govindaswami Nayagar]

அங்கு கவர்னர் ஜெனரலாகத்தான் இருந்தார். அப்படி இருந்தும் அவருடைய பெயரை அங்கு வைக்கமுடியுமா? ஒருக்காலும் வைக்கவே முடியாது. காரணம் நம்முடைய பெயரை வடநாட்டில் வைக்கமாட்டார்கள். கல்வெட்டு என்ற பெயருக்கு பதிலாக டால்மியாபுரம் என்ற பெயர் வைத்ததற்காகத்தான் அந்தப் பெயரை எடுக்க வேண்டும் என்று இன்றைய தினம் தோழர் கருணாநிதி போராட்டத்தை ஆரம்பித்தார். அவருடன் போராட்டத்தை நடத்திய பத்த தோழர்களும் சிறைப்பட்டார்கள். காரணம் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் வேண்டும் என்ற காரணத்தாலும், வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம் இருக்கக் கூடாது என்பதற்காகவும்தான். அவ்வித நிலைமை இப்பொழுது இந்த நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதுமாதிரிம் அல்ல, இன்றையதினம் ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் மொழிவாரி அடிப்படையில் பிரியப் போகிறது. இந்த போராட்டத்தில் இவர்கள் வெற்றி பெற்றார்கள். இதற்காகவே சென்ற காலத்தில் கணம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் பல தியாகங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது பொட்டி ஸ்ரீராமலுவை பரிகொடுத்து ஆந்திர ராஜ்யத்தைப் பெருகிறார்கள். அந்த முறையில்தான் இப்பொழுது சென்ற நாட்டினர் வடநாட்டினரிடமிருந்து பிரிய வேண்டும் என்று போராட்டங்களை நடத்திக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அதற்காகவே பல தியாகங்களையும் செய்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஹிந்தி ஒழிப்பு போராட்டத்தின் பெயரால் தன்னுடைய 60-வது வயதில் பெரியாரும், தாளமுத்து நடராஜனும் இன்னும் பல தோழர்களும் சிறை சென்றார்கள். தாளமுத்து நடராஜனும் சிறையில் பல்லியானார். அதற்காகவேதான் அண்ணாவும் போராட்டத்தை நடத்தினார். மொழியின் பெயரால் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்தக் கூடாது. அந்த முறையில்தான் ஆந்திரர்களும், கன்னடியர்களும், மலையாளிகளும் தமிழர்களும் பிரியவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இத்தனை பேர்களும் ஒரே குடும்பம் என்பதையும், சகோதரர்கள் என்பதையும் நாம் மறந்துவிடக்கூடாது. எல்லோரும் சகோதரர்கள் என்பதை மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு மொழியின் அடிப்படையில் பிரிந்து வாழவேண்டும் என்று நினைக்கிறார்கள். இந்த வகையில் மனக்கசப்புக் கூடாது. ஆந்திரர்களிடம் தமிழருடைய ஆதிக்கம் கூடாது, தமிழர்களிடம் ஆந்திரருடைய ஆதிக்கம் கூடாது. மலையாளிகளிடம் கன்னடியர்களுடைய ஆதிக்கம் கூடாது, அதைப்போலவே கன்னடியர்களிடமும் மலையாளிகளுடைய ஆதிக்கம் இருக்கக்கூடாது. ஒருவருடைய ஆதிக்கத்தை மற்றவர்கள் விரும்பவில்லை. ஒருவருடைய சொத்தை மற்றவர் எடுத்துக்கொள்ள விரும்பவில்லை. ஒவ்வொருவரும் சுபிட்சமாக பிரிந்து கொள்ளமுடியும். நேரு தலைவராக இருக்கும் வரையில், வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம் இருக்கும் வரையில், நமக்கு தீர்ப்புக் கிடையாது. வாஞ்சுவை அனுப்பிக்கக்கூடிய வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம் இருக்கும் வரையில் நமக்கு தீர்ப்புக் கிடையாது. நாம் சுபிட்சமாக வாழ முடியாது. நாம் சுமுகமாக பங்கிட்டுக் கொள்ள முடியாது. அந்த ஆதிக்கம் இருக்கும் வரையில் குரங்கு அப்பத்தை பங்கிட்டுக் கொடுத்து போல்தான் ஆகும். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் நிலைமையில் தமிழர்களுக்கும் ஆந்திரர்களுக்கும் கசப்பு, மலையாளிகளுக்கும் கன்னடியர்களுக்கும் கசப்பு. இதெல்லாம் ஏன் வருகிறது? நம்முடைய அதிகாரத்தை எல்லாம் வடநாட்டார் வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நாம் பிரிந்து கொள்ளக்கூட நமக்கு உரிமை இல்லை. நமக்கு எந்தவிதமான உரிமையும் இப்பொழுது இல்லை. நாட்டில் எந்தவிதமான சிளர்ச்சி வந்தாலும் மொழி ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்தப்படுகிறது. ஆகவேதான் ஆகஸ்டு 1-ம் தேதியன்று பெரியாரும், அண்ணாவும் தமிழ் நாட்டில் திருப்பதியிலிருந்து தூத்துக்குடி வரையிலுள்ள ரயில்வே நிலையங்களிலுள்ள ஹிந்தி மொழியை அழித்தார்கள். ஹிந்திக்கு இங்கு என்ன இடம் இருக்கிறது? அன்று வெள்ளைக்காரன் மவுண்ட்பேட்டன் இருந்த ஆட்சி பீடத்தில் இன்று ராஜேந்திர பிரசாத் இருக்கிறார். அன்று ஹோப் இருந்த இடத்தில் இன்று ராஜேந்திர பிரசாத் இருக்கிறார். அப்பொழுது எவ்வளவு சம்பளம் கொடுக்கப் பட்டதோ அவ்வளவு சம்பளம்தான் இப்பொழுதும் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. வெள்ளைக்கார சரண்டல் அப்பொழுது எப்படி இருந்ததோ அப்படித்தான் இப்பொழுதும் இருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் வியாபார முறையில் வந்து இங்கிருந்து சரண்டலுக்கொண்டு போனார்கள். அன்று அவர்கள் எஜமானராக இருந்தார்கள், இன்று வடநாட்டினர் எஜமானர்களாக

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இருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த நிலைமையில்தான் இன்றையதினம் கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் ஸ்ரீ பொட்டி ஸ்ரீராமலுவை பரிகொடுத்துவிட்டு பிரிந்து போகிறார்கள். அன்று நேருவுக்கு உண்மையை எடுத்துச் சொன்னோம். கவனம் செலுத்தவில்லை. பொட்டி ஸ்ரீராமலு இறந்த பிறகு மக்களே எழுந்து கிளர்ச்சி செய்தார்கள். அதை நேரு பார்த்துதான் நேரு “முட்டாள்தனம்” என்றும், சிறுபிள்ளைத்தனம் என்றும் சொன்னார். யார் கிளர்ச்சி செய்யச் சொன்னார்கள். மொழியின் அடிப்படையில்தான் கிளர்ச்சி செய்தார்கள். இவ்விதம் கிளர்ச்சி செய்தால் அது முட்டாள்தனமா அல்லது சிறுபிள்ளைத்தனமா? அதை நேரு எப்படி வேண்டுமென்றாலும் விஸ்தரிக் கலாம். அதேமுறையில் இப்பொழுது திருத்தணியில் பெருவாரியாக தமிழ் பேசும் மக்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். மந்திரி வி. சி. பழனிசாமி கவுண்டர் திருத்தணி வரையில் தமிழ் நாடு வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கிறார். கனம் வெங்கிடாமி நாயுடு திருப்பதி வரையில் வேண்டும் என்று கேட்கிறார். அவர் வைணவர். அதனால்தான் அப்படிக்கேட்கிறார். போராட்டம் நடக்கும்போது நானும் திருத்தணிக்குப் போயிருந்தேன். அங்கு பெருவாரி யாகத் தமிழ் பேசுகின்றார்கள்.”

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER :—“ The hon. Member attributes some statement to me. I never made that statement.”

* SRI A. GOVINDASWAMI NAYAGAR :—“ கனம் வி. சி. பழனி சாமி கவுண்டர் பேசியதைப்பற்றி தினமணியில் பார்த்தேன். பத்திரிகை சொல்வது தவறாக இருந்தாலும் அது குற்றமாக இருந்தாலும் தமிழ் மந்திரி அந்த இடத்தைக் கேட்பதற்கு உரிமை உண்டு. ஆந்திரர்கள் சேர்ந்து எங்கு இருந்தாலும் அதை ஆந்திராவின் சேர்க்கவேண்டும். அதைப்போலவே தமிழர்கள் எங்கு சேர்ந்திருந்தாலும் அந்த இடத்தை தமிழ் நாட்டுடன் சேர்க்கவேண்டும். அப்படித்தான் ராஜ்யத்தை அமைக்க வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நான் திருத்தணிக்கும் போனேன். அங்கு ஸ்தலஸ்தாபன மந்திரி ஒரு உத்தரவு போட்டிருக்கிறார். அங்கு தமிழ் பாட்டு பாடக்கூடாது என்று. அதனால் மக்கள் அதிருப்தி அடைந் திருக்கிறார்கள். திருப்பதியில் தமிழ் பத்திரிகையை வரக்கூடாது என்று அங்கு ஒரு உத்தரவு இருக்கிறது. இவைகளைக் கண்டு மக்கள் அதிருப்தி அடைகிறார்கள். எந்த பக்கங்களில் தமிழ் பேசுகிறார்களோ அந்தப் பக்கங்களை தமிழ் நாட்டுடன் சேர்த்துக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதைப் போலவே எங்கு தெலுங்கர்கள் அதிகமாக இருக்கிறார்களோ அதை ஆந்திர ராஜ்யத்துடன் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இதற்காகவேதான் திருத் தணியில் சுமார் ஒருமாத காலமாக ஒரு போராட்டத்தை ஆரம்பித்து நடத்தி வருகிறார்கள். பல கிராமங்களுக்கு நான் போய்ப்பார்த்தேன். அதால் நேரு என்ன சொன்னார். அவர்களை முட்டாள்கள் என்று சொன்னார். இது முட்டாள்தனம் என்றும், சிறுபிள்ளைத்தனம் என்றும் சொன்னார். இன்று அறிஞர் அண்ணா போராட்டத்தை நடத்திவருகிறார். இன்றைய தினம் தூத்துக்குடியிலிருந்து சென்னைக்கு வரும் ரயில்களும் நின்று வந்திருக்கின்றன. அதைப்பற்றி நாளை தெரியும்.

“ நேற்றையதினம் அந்தக் கருத்தை எடுத்துச் சொன்னேன். அறிஞர் அண்ணாத்தாரையைச் சிறைப்படுத்தியிருக்கிறது வட நாட்டு ஆதிக்கத் திற்கு உட்பட்ட ராஜாஜி சர்க்கார். அவருடைய தோழர்களும் சிறைச்சாலைக்குள் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நேற்றையதினம் முதல் மந்திரியார் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்த அதேமாதிரிதான்—வருத்தத்தோடு கண்ணீர்விட்டுச் சொல்லு கின்றேன். தூத்துக்குடியில் 4 தோழர்களை சிறைக்குக் கொண்டு போயிருக்கிறார்கள், 4 பேர் சுட்டுக் கொல்லப்பட்டார்கள், 25 பேர் படுகாயம் அடைந்தார்கள். அது மட்டுமல்ல, மு.கருணாநிதி கல்லக் குடியில் சிறைப்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். மதுரையில் 150 பேர்கள் சிறைப் படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். கோவையில் 90 பேர்கள் சிறைப்படுத்தப் பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். காஞ்சீபுரத்தில் 100 பேர்களும், சிதம்பரத்தில் 2 பேர் களும் கைது செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

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“நாளையதினம் பத்திரிகையில் படித்துப்பார்த்தால் எங்கும் ரயில் நிறுத்தம் ஏற்பட்டிருப்பதைக் காணலாம். “முட்டாள்தனம், சிறுபிள்ளைத் தனம்” என்று நேரு அடிக்கடி பிதற்றுகிறாரே அதற்குப் பாடம் கற்பிப்பதற்காகத்தான் இந்தக் கிளர்ச்சிகள். நாளே மறுதினம் ரயில் நிறுத்தம் இருக்கப்போவதில்லை. கிளர்ச்சி செய்பவர்கள் சங்கிலியைப் பிடித்து இழுத்து ரயிலை நிறுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பதற்காக, ரயிலிலுள்ள மெகானிஸத்தை மாற்றி, சங்கிலியைப் பிடித்து இழுத்தாலும், ரயில் நிற்காமல் ஓடும் படியான முறையில் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். ரயிலுக்கு முன் மக்கள் படுத்துக் கொண்டு சாத்திக்மான முறையில் மறியல் செய்த மக்களை சுட்டுக் கொல்லும் படியான நிலை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

“கிளர்ச்சி செய்வதை ‘சிறுபிள்ளைத்தனம்’ என்று நேரு சொல்லுகிறார். அப்படியானால், நாம் சுயராஜ்யம் வாங்கினது எப்படியென்று நான் அவரைக் கேட்கின்றேன். அன்றையதினம் அன்னிய நாட்டுத் துணியைப் பிண்கரித்தோம். உப்பு சத்தியாக்கிரகம் செய்தோம். ‘வெளியேனே! வெளியேறு’ என்று சொன்னோம். அதேமுறையில் வடக்கத்தியானை வெளியேறு என்று சொல்லுகிறோமென்றால் அதில் என்ன தவறு இருக்கிறது? வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம் வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லும்போது ஆத்திரப்படுவானேன்?

“பிரிந்து போகின்ற ஆந்திரர்களுக்கும் தமிழர்களுக்கும் இடையில் பாகம் பிரிக்க நீதிபதி வாஞ்சுவை வடநாட்டு சர்க்கார் அனுப்பிவைத்தது. நீதிபதி வாஞ்சுவுக்கு தெலுங்கு தெரியுமா? அல்லது தமிழ் தெரியுமா? ஆனால், தீர்ப்புக் கூற அவர் வந்திருந்தார். கோர்ட்டிலே தீர்ப்பளிக்கக்கூடிய அந்த முறையிலே ஏதோ அவர் எழுதி வைத்துவிட்டு, அவர்கள் நமக்கு ஒரு அறிக்கை அனுப்பியிருக்கிறார். அதை நாம் ஒத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள்.

“ஆந்திரர்கள் புதிதாக தங்கள் ராஜ்யத்திற்குத் தலைநகரம் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும், அதற்காக நஷ்ட ஈடு கோறுகிறார்கள் என்பதில் எனக்கு ஆட்சேபணை கிடையாது. ஆனால், சொத்தை ஜனத்தொகை வாரியாக பிரித்திருக்கின்றார்கள். அதேமுறையில் கடனையும் பிரித்திருக்கவேண்டும். கடனை அப்படிப் பங்கிடாமல், தமிழர்களே கடனை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று ஆந்திரர்களுக்கு செளகரியமாக விட்டுக்கொடுத்திருக்கிறோம் என்று சொல்வதில் நியாயமில்லை. ஒரு குடும்பத்தில் சகோதரர்களுக்குள் பாகம் பிரிக்கின்றபோது, சொத்தையும் பிரிப்பார்கள், கடனையும் பிரிப்பார்கள். அந்த முறையில் பிரித்திருக்கலாம். ஆனால், அப்படிப் பிரிக்கவில்லை. ஸ்ரீமான் பிரகாசம் போன்ற ஆந்திரத் தலைவர்கள் வடநாட்டுக்குப் போனால், அவர்களுக்குச் சிறந்த மரியாதை உண்டு. ஆனால், தமிழ் நாட்டைச் சேர்ந்த தலைவர்களுக்கு அங்கு அவ்வளவு மரியாதை அளிக்கப்படுவதில்லை. அதற்குக் காரணம் என்னவென்றால், ஆந்திரர்கள் கிளர்ச்சி செய்கின்றார்கள், தமிழர்கள் கிளர்ச்சி செய்வதில்லை.

“இன்றையதினம் பிரிந்து போகின்ற ஆந்திர சகோதரர்களைப்போல, அன்றைய பிரதேசமாகிய மலையாள தேசமும் தமிழ் சகோதரர்களைவிட்டுப் பிரியலாம். பிரிந்து, மொழியின் அடிப்படையில், தனித்தனி பாஷாவாரி மார்காணமாக அமையலாம். அப்பொழுதுதான் வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கத்திலிருந்து தென்னாடு, அதாவது திராவிட நாடு, என்று ஏற்பட்டு திராவிட பெடரேஷன் என்ற முறையில் விளங்கமுடியும். திராவிட நாட்டுக்குத் தலைவரை நாடே வைத்துக்கொள்ளலாம். பிரகாசங்காரு தலைவராக இருக்கலாம், அல்லது ராஜாஜி தலைவராக இருக்கலாம், அல்லது பழனிசாமிக் கவுண்டர் அவர்கள் தலைவராக இருக்கலாம். யார் வேண்டுமானாலும் தலைவராக இருக்கலாம். ஆனால் நம்முடைய திராவிட நாட்டிலே, நேருஜியோ, ஸ்ரீ ராஜேந்திர பிரசாதோ, ஸ்ரீ பிரகாசாவோ தலைவராக இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு, இன்னொரு முக்கிய விஷயத்தையும் எடுத்துச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

“ராஜாஜி அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு வேண்டுகொள் : பல ஆயிரக் கணக்கான மக்கள் சிறைப்படுத்தப்படுகின்றார்கள், சுட்டுக்கொல்லப்படுகின்றார்கள். நாடு பிரிகின்ற இந்த நல்ல நேரத்திலே, ராஜாஜி கொண்டுவந்திருக்கின்ற புதுக் கல்வித் திட்டத்தை வாபஸ் வாங்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளு

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கின்றேன். நாடு பிரிகின்ற இந்த நல்ல தருணத்தில், படிப்புப் பெறாத மக்களின் நலனை முன்னிட்டு, இந்த கல்வித்திட்டத்தை வாபஸ் வாங்கா விட்டால், நாட்டிலே குழப்பமும் கொந்தளிப்பும் ஏற்படும். ஆகவே, இந்த விதமான குழப்பமும் கொந்தளிப்பும் வராமல் பார்த்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டியது முதல் மந்திரியார் கடமையென்று கூறிக்கொண்டு திராவிட நாடு திராவிடருக்கே என்ற நம்பிக்கையின் பேரில் என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

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p.m.

* SRI V. V. KRISHNAMRAJU BAHADUR :—“

ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ఇప్పుడు ఈ ఆసెంబ్లీ సమావేశంలో జరుగుతున్న చరిత్ర ఆంధ్రచరిత్రలో అగ్రస్థానం వహిస్తుందని నేను మునుపేస్తున్నాను. ఎన్నోళ్ళనుండినూ గత 40 సంవత్సరాలనుంచి ఆంధ్రదేశంలో యావన్నీ ప్రజానీకంకూడా అనేక రీతులుగా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని సంపాదించడానికి యాజ్ఞతీక్షణ (agitation) చేశారు. కాని కొన్ని కారణాల వల్ల అది ఎన్ని ప్రయత్నాల జరిగినా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం ఏర్పాటుకాలేదు. ఒరస్సావారి వరనే ఆంధ్రులుకూడా రాష్ట్రాన్ని చాలాకాలం క్రితమే సంపాదించకలిగిఉండేవారు. అలా సంపాదించలేకపోయినారంటే మనలో మనకు వికమత్యం లేకపోవడమే కారణమని చెప్పకతప్పదు. నేటికీ ఈ రోజున ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని సూతనంగా అవతరింపజేసే బిల్లును ప్రతిపాదించడం చాలా సంతోషకరం. ఈ బిల్లును ప్రవేశపెడుతూ రాజాజీ నిన్నటిదినమున ఆగస్టు 15 వ తేదీన భారతదేశమంతటా దాస్యశృంఖలుల నుంచి బయటపడేనప్పుడు ఎలా సంతోషపడినారో, ఆంధ్రులు ఆక్టోబరు 1 వ తేదీన అవిధంగా సంతోషిస్తారని నేలవిచ్చారు. వారి దాస్యశృంఖలాలనుంచి ఆంధ్రులు నెల వడేనట్లు ఎందుకు చెప్పారో ఆశ్చర్యంగావుంది. ఆంధ్రులు ఆక్టోబరు 1 నుంచి ఎవరి దాస్యశృంఖలాలనుండి బయటపడేనట్లు? ఎంతదూరంగా ఆలోచించినా వారు అలా అనడంలో గల ఆంతర్యం వారిజోటి బుద్ధిమంతులే గ్రహించాలిగాని మావంటివారికి అర్థంకాదు. ఈ బిల్లులో అనేక అన్యాయాలు ఉన్నాయని, అనేక అపవలంబకం విషయంలో చాలా అన్యాయం జరిగే ప్రతులు ఇందులో ఉన్నాయని అనేకమంది మిత్రులు చెప్పారు. సుప్రీము కోర్టు న్యాయమూరికంటివారి ఆధ్వర్యాన ఉండే కమిషనువచ్చి అసీ అపవలంబకం పంపకాన్ని చేయాలనుకొని ఏ ఒక్కవ్యక్తి ఉద్దేశ్యపూరితంగా ఇది నిర్ణయించబడడానికి వీలులేదు. అట్లా జరిగినప్పుడే న్యాయసమ్మతమైన పంపకం జరిగే వీలువుంది. ఆక్టోబరు 1 వ తారీఖునాటికి ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం రావాలి అనే ప్రాతిపదికపై బిల్లును సంతోషపూర్వకంగా బలపరచినా, బిల్లులోని క్లాజులను ఆమోదించుటలేదని వానిలో చాలా భాగం విచారకరంగా కన్పిస్తున్నాయని మునుపేస్తున్నాను. అనేక రీతులుగా దేశాన్ని అభివృద్ధి పరచడానికి రాష్ట్రాన్ని కోరాము. ఈ బిల్లులోని క్లాజులు చూస్తే మేము కన్న కలలు అన్నీ కలలుగానే వుండేట్లు ఉన్నాయి. నా సోదరసభ్యులు సూచించే సవరణలతో మాత్రమే నేను క్లాజులను ఆమోదిస్తున్నాను. బిల్లు పర్యవసానాన్ని ఏకగ్రీవంగా సభ్యులందరితోనూ ఆమోదించినప్పటికీ, క్లాజుల విషయంలో సవరణలతోనే ఆమోదిస్తాను.

“అంతేకాని మొత్తం బిల్లును ఆమోదించడానికి నాకెట్టి అవకాశం కనపించడం లేదు. కాగా ఇదివరకటి చరిత్రనుబట్టిచూచినట్లయితే తమిళులలేనేమి, కర్నాటకు లులేనేమి, మళయాళులలేనేమి ఆంధ్రుల సహాయ సానుభూతులను పొందినారని భోధపడుతుంది. కాని ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం అవతరింపనున్న ఈ తరుణంలో ఆంధ్రులకు ఎంతో అన్యాయం జరుగగలదేమోననే ఆనుమానంగానున్నది. ఉమ్మడి రాష్ట్రము లోని ఉత్తర భాషలవారు కూడా మాకీ సమయంలో చేదోడు, వాదోడుగా ఉండి ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం సర్వతోముఖాభివృద్ధి పొందుటకు సహకరించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. నిన్నటిదినం శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచార్యులుగారు మాట్లాడుతూ మన గత చరిత్రనంతా విస్త

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రించి, స్నేహితలవలె విడివడదామని, ఆ దృక్పథంలోనే ఈ బిల్లుపై చర్చ కొనసాగించవలెనని మనలందరను ఆజ్ఞాపించారు. అయితే ఒక్క విషయం మనవిచేయవలసియన్నది. ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లును వర్షించే సమయంలో గత చరిత్రను విస్తరించడం అంత తేలికైనటువంటి పనికాదు. ఈనాడు ఆంధ్రులు స్వరాష్ట్రాన్ని పొందగలుగుతున్నారంటే దానికి దోహదమిచ్చినది అమరజీవి పాట్ల శ్రీరాములుగారు. పాట్ల శ్రీరాములుగారి ఆత్మబలిదానంవల్లనే మనకీనాడు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం సిద్ధింపనున్నది. ఆ మహానుభావుడు చేసిన మహాత్మ్యప్రతిమైన త్యాగఫలమే ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం సిద్ధి అని మనమందరం మంచిపోరాము. ఈనాడు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం వస్తోంది అంటే దానికి వినాయకులు చేసిన కృషి మాత్రం కాదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అమరజీవి పాట్ల శ్రీరాములుగారి ఆత్మబలిదానంవల్ల, ఆ త్యాగదానని ఆకుంతిత దీక్షవల్ల, ఆంధ్ర ప్రజానీకంయొక్క ఉద్యమంవల్ల మాత్రమేనని మరల తెలియచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ఆస్తి అప్పుల విషయం గమనించండి. ఈ బిల్లులోని 7 వ షెడ్యూలులో వేర్కొనబడిన ఆస్తి, అప్పుల పంపిణీ విషయంలో ఆంధ్రులకు ఎంతో అన్యాయం జరుగవచ్చుననే అనుమానం ఆంధ్ర ప్రజానీకానికున్నది. ఈ ఆస్తి, అప్పుల పంపకం సందర్భంలో న్యాయమైన విధానాన్ని అనుసరించడం ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారి ధర్మమై ఉంది. ఒక రాష్ట్రం నుంచి కొంతభాగం విడిపోయి వేరొక రాష్ట్రంగా ఏర్పడతున్న సందర్భంలో ఏ రాష్ట్రమునకుగూడా నష్టము కలుగకుండా చూడవలసియన్నది. అందుకు గాను ఒక నిష్పాతీక సంఘాన్ని నియమించి, ఆ సంఘంవారి నిర్ణయాన్ని తుదినిర్ణయంగా అంగీకరించినట్లుంటే చాలా ఉత్తమంగా ఉంటుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కాబట్టి ఆస్తి, అప్పుల పంపిణీకిగాను ఒక నిష్పాతీక సంఘాన్ని నియమించుటకు ఈ బిల్లులో ఆవకాశం కలుగజేయవలసినదిగా కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ అభిప్రాయాన్ని ఈ సభ వారందరు ఏకగ్రీవంగా కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంవారికి సిఫార్సు చేయవలసినదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇదేరీతిగా బ్యాంకులలోని మొత్తాలు, స్టోర్సు, ఆదాయం, ఖర్చులు జనాభా ప్రాతిపదికమీద విభజన చేయవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. అదేవిధంగా రోడ్ ఫండ్ మొదలైనవాటిని గురించికూడా చేయవలసివుంది.

“ఇక ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సరిహద్దుల విషయం గమనించండి. ఈ సరిహద్దుల విషయంలో ఒకటిగాని అంతకుమించిగాని సరిహద్దు నిర్ణాయిక సంఘాలు నియమించబడి ఆస్తి విషయములను కూలంకషంగా విచారించి, ఏ భాషా ప్రాంతంవారికిని అన్యాయం జరుగని విధంగా సరిహద్దులను నిర్ణయించవలసివుంది. ఈనాడు కొందరు గౌరవ సభ్యులు బిల్లారి విషయంలో న్యాయమూర్తి మిత్రాగారిచ్చిన తీర్పు తుది నిర్ణయమని వాదించున్నారు. అది ఎన్నటికీ సరికాదు. ఎవరో ఒక వ్యక్తి చెప్పిన తీర్పునే తుది నిర్ణయంగా భావించడం చాలా విచారకరమైన విషయం. సాధారణంగా ఒక గృహస్థుని ఆస్తి పంపకమో లేక తగాదాయో వచ్చినప్పుడు మొదట సింగిల్ బెంచ్, తరువాత డివిజన్ బెంచ్ తీర్పుకు ఆవకాశం ఇస్తూ, యింకా అవసరమైతే ఫుల్ బెంచ్ బెంచ్ ఆవకాశము ఇస్తారు. అటువంటి సందర్భంలో ఒక రాష్ట్రానికి మరొక రాష్ట్రానికి సరిహద్దులు నిర్ణయించడంలో ఒక్క మిత్రాగారి తీర్పునే ప్రాసలుగా చేసి ఆంధ్రులకు అన్యాయం చేయడం చాలా విచారకరం. కావున ఇందును గురించి ముక్తీశ్ కోర్టుగాని, లేదా దాని ఆధ్వర్యన విచారణచేయబడే ఒక సరిహద్దు నిర్ణాయిక సంఘంద్వారాగాని న్యాయం జరిపించమని కోరుతున్నాను. అంతే కాకుండా మద్రాసులో ఉన్న వైద్య, విద్యా సౌకర్యములు మొదలైనటువంటి వాటిని మద్రాసులో ఉన్న ఆంధ్రులకు ఇదివరలోవలెనే ఇకముందుకూడా ఉండునట్లుగా ఈ బిల్లులో ఆవకాశములను కలిగించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను.

[Sri V. V. Krishnamraju Bahadur] [15th July 1953]

“విర్వడబోతున్న సూతన రాష్ట్రం యొక్క పేరును గురించిన కొంత సవరణ చేయవలసియున్నదని నేను అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. ఈ నాడు ఆంధ్ర శాసన పిలువబడుచున్న భాగం మొదట ఆంధ్ర కార బంధురమైన దండకారణ్య ప్రాంతం. రాను రాను అది మానవసాధనయోగ్యము కాబడి ఈ ఆంధ్రులు అని పిలు బడెడివారిచేత ఆ వర్తించినదిగాన ఆంధ్ర దేశము అని పిలువబడుచున్నది. ‘ఆంధ్ర’ శబ్దానికి చీకటి లేక గ్రుడ్డి అని అర్థములున్నవి. బహుశః అందుచేతనే ఆనుకుంటాను ఆంధ్రులకు ఈ నాటికికూడా ఈ గ్రుడ్డితనము పోలేదు. నా యీ అభిప్రాయానికి కారణము లెవ్వ ఉన్నాయి. మొదట ఓడ్రులు విడిపోయినప్పుడు మన తెలుగువారు గల కొంత భూభాగమును మనం కోల్పోయినాము. ఈ రోజున దవిమలు, కన్నడులు వారివారికి చేరువనగల ప్రాంతములను చేజిక్కించుకొనిపోతున్నారు. దీనిసంతను చూచినట్లయితే గ్రుడ్డివాని చేతిలోని అస్థిని ఎవరికి కావలసిన దానిని వారు లీనుకొనుచున్నట్లుగా ఉన్నది గాన అసలు ‘ఆంధ్ర’ అనే శబ్దంలోనే వైరుధ్యము పుట్టినదని నేను అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. అందుచేత అసలు ‘ఆంధ్ర’ అనే మాటనే సవరణ చేయవలసియున్నది. అంతేకాక మరొక కారణంకూడా మనవిచేస్తాను. ‘ఆం’ అంటే విషం అని అర్థం. అందువల్ల నేనేమో ఇంతవరకూ మన ‘ఆంధ్ర’ జాతికి, ‘ఆంధ్ర’ దేశానికి గత చరిత్ర విశ్వాసాయముగా భరింపించినది. ఈ కారణాల వల్లనైనా ఇటువైసి ‘ఆంధ్ర’ అన్న పేరును మాచ్చి ‘ఆంధ్ర’ రాష్ట్రం అని నామ కరణం చేసుకుంటే చాలా శుభదాయకంగా ఉంటుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ‘ఆం’ అంటే అమృతం అర్థం. కాబట్టి ఇటువైసి అయినా ముందుతరాలవారికి, విర్వడ బోయే రాజ్యలక్ష్మీకి అమృతప్రాయంగా భుజించి, తెలుగువారు అన్నివిధాలా పురోధి వృద్ధి చెందుతారు, కాబట్టి ఇటువైసి ‘ఆంధ్రా’ రాజ్యం అని నామకరణం చేయవలసి ఉన్నది. Andhra అనేదానిని Amdhra అని మార్చిన అన్ని విధములా అమృత ప్రాయము కాగలదని అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. కాబట్టి అటువంటి సవరణ చేయవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఆంధ్ర భాష మాట్లాడే వరిసర ప్రాంతములగల ఓరిస్సా, బస్తర్, తమిళనాడు, మైసూరు, మైసూరు రాజధానిలలోని తెలుగు ప్రదేశాలన్నీంటిని రాజోయే ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంలో చేర్చి, ఈ సూతన రాజ్యలక్ష్మీని విశాలాంధ్ర రాజ్యలక్ష్మీగా చేయుటకు ఉత్తేశ, మరాట, ఘోర్, తమిళ, మళయాళ, కర్నాటక దేశస్తులెల్లరు చేయుత నిచ్చి, సంపూర్ణ హృదయంతో ఆశీర్వదించి, వరిపూర్ణమైన విశాలాంధ్ర రాజ్య స్థాపన జరుగునట్లు సహకరింపవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను.

“మా విశాలాంధ్ర రాజ్యం సాటి భాషా ప్రయుక్త రాజ్యములన్నింటిని మార్గ దర్శకమై భారతదేశమునకు వెన్నెముకగా ఉండి ఆర్థికముగానూ, వైజ్ఞానికముగానూ, వ్యవసాయకముగానూ, రాజకీయముగానూ అభివృద్ధి చెంది, భారత రాజ్యలక్ష్మీకి ఆర్థిక స్వరాజ్య సిద్ధి చేకూర్చి, కీర్తి చేకూర్చగల గాన ఈ శుభ సందయంలో గౌరవ నీయులు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు, గౌరవనీయులు శ్రీ ప్రకాశం కంతుల గారు కలసి సక్రమమైన, న్యాయమైన పద్ధతిన ఈ బిల్లిను సీపార్టుచేయవలసినదిగా వారిని, ఈ సభవాగినీ కోరుచూ ఈ కడసారి సంయుక్త సమావేశంలో ప్రవంగించుటకు ఈ సదవకాశం ఇచ్చినందులకు సభాధ్యక్షులకు, సోదర సభ్యులకు నా వినయపూర్వక అభినందనములతో నా ఉత్సాహమును తెలుపుతున్నాను.”

SRI D. KRISHNAMURTHI GOUNDER :—

“கனம் உதவிசபாநாயகர் அவர்களே. இந்த ஆந்திர மசோதாவானது முக்கியமாக மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களைப் பிரிக்கவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரு நல்ல நோக்கத்துடன் தான்

15th July 1953] [Sri D. Krishnamurthi Gounder]

கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இருந்தாலும் நேரு சர்க்காரானது இந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணப் பிரிவினையை எவ்வளவுக் கெவ்வளவு தள்ளிப்போட்டுக் கொண்டு போகவேண்டுமென்று நினைத்ததோ, அதைவிட சீக்கிரமாகவே இந்த மசோதாவானது வந்துவிட்டது.

“காங்கிரசானது மொழிவாரியாகத்தான் அந்த கட்சி நடக்கிறது. அதாவது, ஆந்திரப்பிரதேச காங்கிரஸென்றும், தமிழ்நாடு காங்கிரஸென்றும் கேரள காங்கிரஸென்றும், கர்நாடக காங்கிரஸென்றும், இம்மாதிரி மொழிவாரியாகத்தான் நடந்து வருகின்றன. ஆனால், ராஜ்யத்தை மொழிவாரியாகப் பிரிப்பதில் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்காரே மத்திய சர்க்காரில் இருந்து கொண்டு இதற்கு வேண்டிய தடைகளைச் செய்துகொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் இதற்கு ஒரு வினோதமான காரணம் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ‘இந்தியாவைத் துண்டாக்கடாது; சிறு சிறு பாகங்களாகப் பிரிக்கக் கூடாது. அது ஒற்றுமையைக் குலைக்கக்கூடியதாக இருக்கும்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இது எவ்வளவு தூரம் நேர்மையாக இருக்குமென்பதை நீங்கள் ஆலோசித்துப் பாருங்கள். அவரவர்களுடைய கலாசாரம், மொழி, நாகரீகம் வெவ்வேறாக இருக்கிறது. அவரவர்கள் உலகத்திலே தலைநிமிர்ந்து நடக்க விரும்புகின்றார்கள். அவர்களுடைய இஷ்டத்தைத் தடுப்பது ஒரு ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கத்துக்கு நேர்மையாகுமா என்று யோசித்துப்பாருங்கள்.

“காங்கிரஸானது தங்களுடைய கட்சி சம்பந்தப்பட்டவரையில் மொழிவாரியாகக் கட்சி நடவடிக்கைகளை நடத்திவருகிறது. அதுபோலவே, நேர்மையான அரசாங்கமாக இருந்தால், மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களையும் பிரித்திருக்கவேண்டும். அதாவது அன்னிய ஆட்சியிடமிருந்து தேசம் விடுதலையடைந்து, அதிகாரம் கைக்கு வந்தவுடன், அவ்வாறு செய்திருந்தால் அது நேர்மையாக இருந்திருக்கும். அதை விட்டுவிட்டு, ஒரே பிடிவாதமாக இருந்த காரணத்தினால், மிகவும் அறிஞராகிய பொட்டி ஸ்ரீராமலிங்கைப் பலி கொடுக்கவேண்டியதாயிற்று. இன்னும் கிளர்ச்சியின் காரணமாக ஆங்காங்கே பலத்த கஷ்ட நஷ்டங்கள் ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டன.

“முக்கியமாக ஆந்திர சர்க்காரர்களுக்கு ஒரு வேண்டுமோள் விரெக்கின் நேன் : அதாவது, தமிழர்கள் எந்தக்காலத்திலும் உங்களுக்கு உங்களுடைய நோக்கத்திற்கு எதிராக இருக்கவில்லை; உங்களுடைய நோக்கத்திற்கு மிகவும் சாதகமாகத்தான் இருந்தார்கள். ஆனால், உங்களுக்கு எதிராக இருந்தவர்கள் நேரு சர்க்கார்தான், வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம்தான்; வடநாட்டார் அவர்களுடைய வியாபார ஆதிக்கம் இங்கு ஒழிந்துவிடுமோ என்று நினைத்துத்தான் அவர்கள் இவ்வாறு உங்களுக்கு எதிரிடையாக இருந்தார்கள், என்று எடுத்துச்சொல்ல ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

“மேலும், தென்னிந்தியாவிலும் ஓர் சில வகுப்புகள் அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோகம் எங்கு போய்விடுமோ, நமக்குக் கிடைக்காமல் மற்ற திராவிட மக்களின் போட்டாபோட்டி வந்துவிடுமோ என்ற அச்சத்தின் காரணமாக இதற்கு எதிரிடையாக இருந்தார்கள். மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களைத் தாங்களாகவே காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் இவ்வாறு செய்யாமல், ஏதோ ஆந்திரர்கள் மிகவும் தீவிரமாகக் கிளர்ச்சி செய்ததினாலும் பல தியாகங்கள் செய்ததினாலும் அவர்கள் இந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணத்தை அடைய நேரிட்டது.

“முக்கியமாக, இந்த ஆந்திர மசோதாவானது எப்படி இருக்க வேண்டுமென்றால், சென்னை ராஜ்ய பிரிவினை மசோதா அல்லது மொழிவாரி ராஜ்ய மசோதா என்ற முறையில் இருந்திருக்கவேண்டும். அதாவது, சென்னையானது பல மொழிகளை உடையது, பல மொழி பேசக்கூடிய மக்களை உடையது. தமிழர், தெலுங்கர், கன்னடியர்கள், மலையாளிகள். இவர்கள் அவரவர்களுடைய கலாசாரம் வேறு, நாகரீகம் வேறு, மொழி வேறு, ஆகவே, அம்மாதிரி மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களைப் பிரித்திருக்கவேண்டும். அதை விட்டுவிட்டு, இப்பொழுது ஆந்திரர்களை மட்டும் பிரித்திருப்பது அவ்வளவு நல்லதல்ல. இத்துடன் நிற்காது மேலும் பல கிளர்ச்சிகள் நடக்கும்.

“திருவாங்கூரிலுள்ள தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களையும் தமிழ் நாட்டோடு சேர்க்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டிய தீவிர கிளர்ச்சிகள் ஏற்கெனவே

[Sri D. Krishnamurthi Gounder] [15th July 1953]

செய்துவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதுபோலவே, சென்னையிலுள்ள மலையாள ஜில்லாவானது திருவாங்கூர் கொச்சியுடன் சேரவேண்டும். ஆனால், மலையாள சர்கோதரர்கள் இவ்வாறு பிரிய இசையமாட்டார்கள். இருந்தாலும், ஒருகாலத்தில் வந்தேதான் தீரும் என்பதை எடுத்துச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

“மேலும், ஆந்திரர்கள் இத்துடன் விட்டுவிட மாட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் கர்நாடகத் தற்காலிகத் தலைநகராகக் கொண்டது ஒரு பரந்த நோக்கத்துடன்தான். விசால ஆந்திரா ஏற்படும்போது, ஐதராபாதத்தைப் பிரிப்பது என்பதை ஒரு நோக்கமாகக் கொண்டதான், கர்நாடகத் தற்காலிகத் தலைநகராக ஒப்புக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது வெட்ட வெளிச்சம்.

“ஆகவே, இன்றைக்கு நேருஜி சர்க்கார் என்ன செய்யவேண்டும்? ஐதராபாதத்தையும், மைசூரையும், திருவாங்கூரையும் அந்தந்த மொழிவாரியாகப் பிரித்து, நம்முடைய தென்னாட்டில் நான்கு பெரிய ராஜ்யங்கள் உண்டாகும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும். உலகத்தில் மிக முக்கியமான யூனிட்டேட்டேட்ஸ் ஆப் அமெரிக்காவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், அங்கே, பல சிறு சிறு ராஜ்யங்களாகப் பிரித்து சுயேச்சையாக வாழ இடமளித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

“முக்கியமாக, பாதுகாப்பு போன்ற இரண்டு இலாக்காக்களை மத்திய சர்க்கார் வைத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தது. அதாவது, அன்னிய ஆட்சியாகிய பிரிட்டிஷ் அரசாங்கம் நாட்டை ஆண்டுகொண்டிருந்தபோது, ஒவ்வொரு ராஜ்யமும் சுயேச்சையாக இருக்க முடிந்தது. சென்ட்ரல் கவர்ன்மென்ட்டில் அவ்வளவு அதிகமாக பொறுப்புகள் இல்லாமல் இருந்தன. இப்பொழுது எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் நாம் வட திசையை நோக்கித்தான் எந்த காரியமும் செய்ய வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் டில்லியை நோக்கித்தான் எங்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. நமக்கு நம் நாட்டில் ஒரு பகுதியில் பஞ்சம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்றால் டில்லி சர்க்கார் தான் யாரோ ஒருவரை அனுப்பவேண்டும். அவர்தான் அதற்கு வேண்டிய தகவல்களைச் சேகரிக்கவேண்டும். நமது முதல் மந்திரியார் கூட இதைப்பற்றி மிகவும் கண்டித்திருக்கிறார். இருந்தாலும், நேருஜி அதற்கு இடம் கொடுக்கவில்லை.

“இப்பொழுது என்முன் பேசிய மெம்பர்கள் சொல்லியதுபோல, நமக்குள் பாகப் பிரிவினையைத் தீர்ப்பதற்கும் வட நாட்டான் ஒருவர் வரவேண்டுமென்று நமக்குத் திட்டமிட்டார்கள். அதன்படியே ஐஸ்டில் வாஞ்சு அவர்கள் வந்தார். மற்றும், பெல்லாரி விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி தீர்ப்பு கூறுவதற்கு வேறு ஒரு வட நாட்டார் அனுப்பி வைக்கமாட்டார். இம்மாதிரி நமக்குள் பல தகராறுகளையும் சிக்கல்களையும் வட நாட்டார் உண்டாக்கிவிட்டார்கள்.

“முக்கியமாக சித்தூர் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள தமிழ்த் தாலுகாக்களை ஆந்திர ஜில்லாவில் சேர்த்திருக்கிறார்கள். அது கூடாது. அது தமிழ் ஜில்லாக்களுடன் சேர்க்கப்படவேண்டும் என்று அதற்கான கிளர்ச்சிகளை சித்தூரிலுள்ள தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களில் மக்கள் செய்துகொண்டிருந்தார்கள். நமது தோழர் திரு. வினாயகம் அவர்களும், திரு. ம. பொ. சிவஞானிராமணி அவர்களும் இந்த காரணத்திற்காகத்தான் வடக்கு எல்லைப்பகுதியில் மாபெரும் கிளர்ச்சியை நடத்தினார்கள். ஏதோ நேருஜி அவர்கள் வாக்களித்ததற்காக அவர்கள் அந்த கிளர்ச்சியை ஒத்தி வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

“இந்த வடக்கெல்லைக் கிளர்ச்சி சம்பந்தமாக சித்தூர் ஜில்லாவைத் தவிர மற்ற ஜில்லாக்களில் கைது செய்யப்பட்டவர்கள் இன்னும் சிறைக்கூண்டிலுள்ள அடைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை விடுவிக்க இன்னும் ராஜாஜி சர்க்காருக்கு மனம்வரவில்லை. என்ன காரணமோ தெரியவில்லை. சித்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் கிளர்ச்சி செய்தவர்களை மட்டும் விடுதலை செய்து விட்டார்கள். ஆனால், மற்ற வெளி ஜில்லாக்களில் அதே கிளர்ச்சியைச் செய்தவர்களை இன்னும் கூண்டில் அடைத்திருப்பது ‘என்ன காரணமோ தெரியவில்லை. அவர்களும் உடனடியாக விடுதலை செய்யப்படவேண்டும்.

“ஆகவே, மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்கள் ஏற்படுவதற்குத் தடையாக இருக்கும் வடநாட்டு ஆதிக்கம் ஒழியவேண்டும். ஆனால், என்ன ஆந்திர சர்கோதரர்கள் தங்களை திராவிடர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள வெட்கப்படு

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ஊர்கள் என்று நினைக்கின்றேன். பழைய காலத்தை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் நாம் எல்லோரும் திராவிடர்கள். ஏதோ அன்னிய அரசாங்கத்தின் படை எடுப்பாலும் இன்னும் பல பல காரணங்களினாலும், அவர்கள் தனி மொழி பேசும்வராக ஏற்பட்டது. ஆனால் எப்பொழுதும் அவர்கள் உடலில் திராவிட ரத்தத்தான் ஒடிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை மறக்கமுடியாது. ஆகை வினால், ஆந்திர ராஜ்யம் ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது என்று ஆந்திரர்கள் திருப்தியடை வதோடு மட்டுமில்லாமல், உடனடியாக வட நாட்டு ஆதிக்கத்திலிருந்து பிரிந்து வாழ்வதற்குண்டான காரியங்களுக்கு அடிகோலவேண்டும். தென் னாட்டைப் பொருத்தவரையில், தனியாக ஐதராபாதத்தையோ, அல்லது வேறு எந்த இடத்தையோ தலைநகராகக் கொண்டு ஒரு நிலையான தென் னாட்டு சர்க்காரை ஏற்படுத்தி, ஒரு ஐக்கிய தென்னிந்திய நாடு ஏற்பட வேண்டும். திராவிட பெடரேஷன் அல்லது தென்னிந்திய பெடரேஷன் என்று அமையுமாறு ஒரு திட்டத்தை ஏற்படுத்தி டில்லி சர்க்காரிலிருந்து நாம் விடுதலை பெற்றுல்தான் நமக்கு விமோசனம் ஏற்படும் என்று சொல்லி விரும்புகிறேன். ஆகவே மொழிவாரியாக ராஜ்யங்கள் உடனடியாகப் பிரிக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய சிற்றுவாரையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI P. GUNNAYYA :—“అధ్యక్ష, మద్రాసు అసెంబ్లీలో మన పూజ్యులైనటువంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రతిపాదించినటువంటి ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లును నేను మనస్ఫూర్తిగా బలపరుస్తున్నాను. ఎందుకనగా, ఇప్పటికి ఎన్నో సంవత్సరాలనుంచి భాషాప్రయత్న రాష్ట్రాల ఏర్పాటుగురించి కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులచేసేమి, తదితర పార్టీనాయకులచేసేమి, అందరూకూడా ప్రయత్నించి అనేక కష్టాలకు గురి అయినప్పటికీకూడా మనకు ఇంతవరకు రాష్ట్రం రాలేదు. కట్టకడకు టకు, ఇప్పుడు, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంకొరకు శ్రీ పాట్టి శ్రీరాములు ప్రాణాలు గోల్పోయినందుకు, వారి ఆత్మశాంతి కలుగజేయుటకుగాను మన పూజ్యులైనటువంటి భారత ప్రధాని, శ్రీ కండ్లకర్ జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూగారు వెంటనే 11 ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలతోను, బళ్లారి జిల్లాలోని మూడు తాలూకాలతోను ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం ఏర్పించుకొమ్మని తెలవిచ్చినారు. కాని అనేక సంవత్సరాలగా కాంగ్రెసు పెద్దలు తదితర పెద్దలు అనేక కష్టాలుపడి ప్రయత్నించినప్పటికీనీ రాటువంటి ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంకొరకు ప్రాణాలు అర్పించి పొందించిన మన పాట్టి శ్రీరాముల సంపూర్ణ ఆత్మశాంతికిగాను మనం ఇప్పుడు గోల్పోయిన కోరాపుట్టి గంజాము, ప్రాంతాన్ని, హైదరాబాదులోని తెలంగాణ తెలుగు జిల్లాలను, బళ్లారి తాలూకాను మన ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంలో కలిపేవరకు వీటి విషయమై భారత ప్రధాని మనకు వాగ్దానం చేసేవరకు ఆంధ్ర శాసన సభ్యులు ఆంధ్ర ప్రజానీకము వాటిని పొందించేవరకు కృషిచేస్తారని నేను ఈ శాసన సభవ్యాసా ప్రజలందరికీ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“తదుపరి, ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర బిల్లులోని క్లాజులో అనేక లోపాలున్నాయని మన ఆంధ్ర శాసన సభ్యులచేసేమి, అరవ సభ్యులచేసేమి, అందరూ నిన్నటినుండి అనుకొంటున్నారు. మనకు ఇప్పుడు ముఖ్యమంత్రిగా ఉన్నటువంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారి గారికి మన రాష్ట్ర భోగట్టానేగాదు, యావద్భారతదేశ భోగట్టాకూడా తెలుసును. కనుక వారికి సూతనంగా ఏర్పడుతున్న ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం గురించి తెలియని విషయం ఉండదు. కాబట్టి, ఇప్పుడు మన ఆంధ్ర కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులైనటువంటి శ్రీ నీలం సంజీవరెడ్డిగారును, భారత కృషిలోపాట్టి నాయకులైన శ్రీ రంగారావున్ను తదుపరి ప్రజా సోపలిష్ట పార్టీ నాయకులైనటువంటి ప్రకాశం పంతులుగారున్ను ఈ మన నాయకులందరూను మన ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారిని సంప్రదించి మన ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి కావలసినటువంటి సదుపాయాల విషయమును, ఆస్తి ఆస్తుల పంపకం విషయమును, తదుపరి ఉద్యోగముల పంపకము విషయమును, న్యాయంగా పరిశీలించి ఆస్తులకు

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p.m.

[Sri P. Gunnayya]

[15th July 1953]

న్యాయము జరిగియు చూడవలెనని కోరుచూ, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మనకు సుస్థిరమైన ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రమును నెలకొల్పేందుకు తోడ్పడతారని వారిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. తదుపరి, ఈ ఉన్నత కమిటీ విషయంలో ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రంలో ఆంధ్రలే పరిపాలన చేసుకోవాలని, అరవ దేశంలో అరవలే పరిపాలన చేసుకోవాలని కొంతమంది సభ్యులు చెప్పుతున్నారు. కాని మనం ఎన్నో సంవత్సరాలనుంచినా ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో అరవ, ఆంధ్ర విభేదం లేకుండా ఇంతవరకు కలిసి పనిచేసుకొంటున్నాము. అవిధంగా ఉండగా, ఇప్పుడు, కొత్తగా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం ఏర్పడబోయే సమయంలో అరవ ఆంధ్ర అనే విభేదాలు తెట్టుకొని విడిపోవడమనేది విమూలం సమంజసంకాదని నేను శాసన సభ్యులందరికీ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. దానికి కొన్ని నిదర్శనాలు చెప్పుతున్నాను. శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలో శ్రీ భగవాన్ దాస్ అనే అరవ సోదరులు జిల్లా కలెక్టరుగా ఉండినారు. అదేవిధంగా పార్వతీపురంలో రివిన్యూ విభాగం ఆఫీసరు శ్రీ రామచంద్రగారు యన్నారు. అరవ సోదరుడు గూడ జిల్లా కలెక్టరుగా ఉన్నారు. వారి వద్దకు వికూలివాడు గాని మాలవాడుగాని వచ్చినప్పటికీ, దానికి కుర్చీ ఇచ్చి కూర్చోమని వారి కష్ట సుఖాలను గురించి విచారించి వారికి తగిన సహాయం చేసి వుంటున్నాడు. తరువాత వారి క్రింద ఉన్న పి.ఎ. గారు అప్పుడు. వారుకూడా ఒక వికూలివాడు మొదలుకొని, శాసన సభ్యులవరకు అందరినీ ఒకేవిధంగా చూస్తున్నారు. ఇదంతా మన ఐక్యతనే సూచిస్తున్నది. కనుక ఇప్పుడు మనం అటువంటి విభేదాలను పాటించుట సమంజసం కాదు. తెలుగు తెలిసినటువంటి అరవవారు తెలుగు దేశంలో ఉండవచ్చు. అరవం తెలిసినటువంటి తెలుగువారు అరవ దేశంలో ఉండవచ్చు. మన ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం కొంత సుస్థిరంగా ఏర్పడేవరకు మనకు ఇతరుల సహాయం, సహకారం అవసరమైయుంటుంది. కనుక ఇటువంటి విభేదాలు ఎంతకుండా ప్రతి శాసన సభ్యుడును, ప్రజలందరును, ప్రతి గ్రామవాసినికూడా అంతా ఐక్యభావంతో కలిసి ఈ ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని సుస్థిరంగా నెలకొల్పేందుకు ఆంధ్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి తగిన సహాయం చేస్తారని ఈ శాసన సభద్వారా ప్రజలందరినీ, మరియు సోదర శాసన సభ్యులందరికీనీ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“తదుపరి, 1947 వ సంవత్సరానికి పూర్వం భారతదేశంనుంచి బ్రిటిషవారిని వుండి వేసినప్పుడు, భారతదేశంలో ప్రస్తుతంవంటి యావన్నది ప్రజానీకానికి, అంటే సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికి చెందిన హక్కులకు, వ్యవసాయ హక్కులకు, తెల్లదొరలు మన దేశమునుంచి వెళ్లిన తర్వాత తిండి బట్టి కొరతలేకుండా చేస్తామని కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వముగారికి అనుకుంటున్న సార్వనాయకులందరు, హామీ యిచ్చారు. తెల్లదొరలు వెళ్లిపోయి ఇప్పటికి ఎన్నో సంవత్సరాలు అయినప్పటికీ, సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికి, హరిజనులకు, యింకను మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలకు సహాయకరంగా కొంతవరకైనా మార్పు జరిగిందా అంటే అదివిమూలం జరగలేదు. కాబట్టి యిప్పటికైనా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రానికి వచ్చినటువంటి డబ్బును ఆంధ్ర దేశములోను, అరవ రాష్ట్రానికి వచ్చిన డబ్బును అరవ రాష్ట్రంలోనూ ఖర్చు పెట్టటానికి తగిన ఏర్పాట్లు చేసుకొనటానికి మనమందరూ అన్నదమ్ములులాగా సుహృద్భావంతో వ్యవహరించాలని అంటున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు అరవలూ, ఆంధ్రులకు మధ్య మదాను రాష్ట్రం రెండు ముక్కలు కాబోతున్నది. ఇకమీదట నైనను భుభయరాష్ట్రాలవారు కలతలు, కలహాలు లేకుండా కలిసి మెలిసి పుండి ఒకరినొకరిని సహకరించుకొని ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలన సాగించుకోవాలని కోరుతున్నాను. భుభయ రాష్ట్రాలవారు అవిధంగా సన్నిహితభావంతోను, పరస్పరానురాగంతోను వ్యవహరించుకొనినయెడల దేశంలోని సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికి కావలసినటువంటి సౌకర్యాలు ఏర్పడటానికి సక్రమమార్గమున. ప్రజాప్రభుత్వం నడిపేటట్లు చేస్తారని ఆశిస్తూ శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రపు బిల్లు పార్లమెంటులో ఆమోదించబడిన వెంటనే ఒక నెలలోగానే ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర రాజధానిని కర్నూలులో ఏర్పరచ

15th July 1953]

[Sri P. Gunnayya]

టానికి నిశ్చయించారు. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర రాజధాని స్థలనిర్ణయం విషయంలో గత నెలలో శ్రీ ప్రకాశం పంతులుగారి అధ్యక్షతన ఆయన రోజులు బీవంగా వాడోప వాదాలు జరిగి తుదకు కర్నూలు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రమునకు తాత్కాలిక రాజధానిగా నిశ్చయించారు. కాని యీ నిర్ణయం ప్రజలు చెప్పిన ప్రకారంగా జరగలేదని నా అభిప్రాయం. కాని, నా మట్టుకు నేను ఎదో ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం ఏర్పడుతుంది, మనకు అన్ని సౌకర్యాలు కలుగగలవనే నమ్మకముతో నా నియోజకవర్గమునకు వెళ్లకుండా యిక్కడ శాసన సభకువచ్చి అందరితోవాటు కర్నూలుకు ఓటు చేశాను. నేను నా నియోజక వర్గమునకు తిరిగి వెళ్లి, పది రోజులు పర్యటన చేశాను. నా నియోజకవర్గములో నువ్వారు ఒక లక్ష, యాభై వేలమంది ఓటర్లు ఉన్నారు. అక్కడి ఓటర్లందరు వారి ఆనమతి లేకుండా కర్నూలుకు ఎందుకు ఓటు యిచ్చావని నన్ను దుయ్యబట్టుతున్నారు. అందుకు రాయలసీమవారికి, సర్కారు జిల్లాలవారికి మధ్య శ్రీ బాగ్ ఒడంబడిక వున్నందున, ఆ విధంగా చేయవలసినవచ్చిందని జవాబుచెప్పగా, వారందరు అందుకు సమ్మతించలేదు. ఈ మధ్య ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి సరిహద్దు తగాదాలు జరగడంచూచి, యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం రావటము రాయలసీమవారికి నష్టదాయకమేగాని, లాభదాయకంకాదని ప్రజలంతా భావిస్తున్నారు. అలాంటప్పుడు రాయలసీమలో మారుమూల నున్న కర్నూలులో రాజధానిని ఏర్పాటుచేసే బదులు, మద్రాసుకు తర్వాత కొంచెము చిన్న పట్టణముగా ఏర్పడిన విశాఖపట్టణములోనే ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర రాజధానిని ఎందుకు ఏర్పాటు చేయకూడదని ప్రజలు అడుగుతున్నారు. అంతేకాకుండా ఆంధ్ర రాజధానిగా ఏర్పరిచిన కర్నూలు ఎక్కడ వున్నదో మారు తెలియదు. గనుక వేరే అందుబాటులోవున్న విశాఖపట్టణమునకు ఓటుచేయమని ప్రజలు ఒత్తిడి చేస్తున్నారు. ఒకవేళ కర్నూలును మార్చకపోయి, అదే పట్టణము స్థిరపరచబడినట్లయితే, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి వ్యతిరేకముగా నడిచినందున నాకు చక్కని గుణపాఠము చెప్పటామని మా నియోజకవర్గపు ఓటర్లు హెచ్చరిస్తున్నారు. అందుకు సమాధానంగా, ఆంధ్రులకు విశాలాంధ్ర ఏర్పడేవరకు కర్నూలును తాత్కాలిక రాజధానిగా నిర్ణయించారేగాని, మరొక పట్టణము ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి రాజధాని కాజోతుందని నేను వారికి చెప్పగా, యిప్పటికి రెండు సంవత్సరాల క్రిందట ఎన్నికలు వచ్చినప్పుడు మారు కావలసిన సౌకర్యాలన్నియు చేస్తామని చెప్పి ఓట్లు వుచ్చుకొని, యిప్పుడు మీ యిష్టప్రకారం ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా ఎందుకు నడిచినారనిన్నీ, అట్లు నడిచినందులకు తగిన శాస్త్రీచేస్తామని నన్ను మా నియోజకవర్గపు ఓటర్లు బెదిరించుచున్నారు. కాబట్టి యిప్పటికైనా, ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారైన రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు, రాయలసీమ శాసన సభ్యులు అటుతర్వాత యిప్పుడు పెద్దలుగా న్యవహరించుచున్న శ్రీ ప్రకాశం పంతులుగారు, రంగాగారు, సంజీవ రెడ్డిగారు అందరూ కూడా యీ రాజధాని విషయంలో యిదివరకు చేసిన కర్నూలు నిర్ణయాన్ని పునరాలోచించి, ప్రజల కోరికలప్రకారం ఏదైనా అందుబాటులోవున్న పట్టణాన్ని తాత్కాలిక రాజధానిగా ఏర్పరచమని కోరుతున్నాను. నా అభిప్రాయంలో విశాఖపట్టణమే అందరికీ అందుబాటులోను, అన్ని సౌకర్యాలుగల పెద్ద పట్టణము గనుక అక్కడనే ఏర్పాటు చేయాలని కోరుతున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని యీ కర్నూలు నిర్ణయాన్ని మార్చించమని ఎక్కువగా వేడుకొనుచున్నాను. మన దేశపు బాగ్యం, రాష్ట్రములో జరిగే వ్యవహారాలు ముఖ్య మంత్రి వారికి బాగా తెలుసు. ఈ విషయంలో వారు ఎక్కువగా కృషిచేయాలని విన్నవిస్తున్నాను. రాజధాని విషయంలో వారు ఆంధ్రులకు ఎక్కువగా సహాయపడుతారని నమ్ముచున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా మా శ్రీకాకుళం విశాఖపట్టణం జిల్లాలలో అరవ సోదరులైనటువంటి శ్రీ మాణిక్యవేలు నాయకరు మంత్రిగారు, ఆగ్రికల్చర్ మంత్రి నాగన్న గౌడుగారున్నా, ఆంధ్ర రైతులకు, ప్రజలకు కావలసినటువంటి పనులు కొన్ని చేయించారు. కాని మా విశాఖపట్టణం

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జిల్లానుండి వచ్చిన హరిజన శాఖామాత్యులయిన శ్రీ M. V. Krishna Rao గారు హరిజనోద్ధరణకుగాను నియమించబడ్డారు. కాని హరిజనులకోసం, ఏర్పడే మంత్రి హరిజన జాతికి చెందినవారినే నియమించాలిగాని, ఆ పదవి వారికివ్వడం అనేది చాలా పొరపాటుని అంటున్నాను. హరిజనజాతికి చెందినవారిని మంత్రిగా వేస్తేనే, హరిజనుల కష్ట సుఖాలు ఖచ్చితంగా తెలియగలవు. ఉదాహరణకు యిప్పటికి రెండు సంవత్సరాలనుంచి జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ల వద్దకు, సబ్ కలెక్టర్ల వద్దకు మా జిల్లాల హరిజన విద్యార్థులు ఎంతోమంది వెళ్లి, హాస్టల్ సౌకర్యాలు బాత్రిగా లేవని ఎన్ని పర్యాయములు మొరపెట్టుకున్నప్పటికిని, యంతవరకు ఏమి చేయలేదు. అంతేకాకుండా హాస్టల్సును మూసివేశారు. ఈ విషయములో మంత్రిగారుగాని, ప్రభుత్వంగాని యే చర్య తీసుకోనందున హరిజన విద్యార్థులు చాలా కష్టపడుతున్నారు. కాబట్టి యీ విషయములో తగు శ్రద్ధవహించి శీఘ్ర చర్య తీసుకొనేందుకు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతూ యంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

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SRI C. PULLA REDDI:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in welcoming this Bill which is a happy sign of the inauguration of the Andhra State for which we have been fighting all these years, I want to point out certain defects in the Bill, which go against the interests of Andhras. Certain hon. Members from the Kannada area and Tamil Nad have said that the Andhra State is taking away certain parts which belong naturally to their areas. I only want to say, in this connection, that we, Andhras, are as much interested as they themselves in the proper fixation of the boundaries. Previously we accepted the proposal to form the Andhra State with the eleven Telugu districts and three taluks of Bellary only in order to expedite the formation of our State. Now, it may be that certain Tamil villages have gone into the Andhra State and *vice versa*. But these questions have to be settled peacefully and amicably with the help of a boundary commission in the light of facts and figures. That is why the Andhras are more interested than, or at least as much interested, as the others in the immediate formation of a boundary commission. Sir, the boundary between the Mysore State and the new Andhra State has also to be settled. Just as some of the hon. Members from the Kannada area have been saying that some of their parts have gone into the Andhra State so also certain Telugu parts like the Kolar Gold Field area and the borders of Bellary district have been included in the Mysore State. Moreover, Rupanagudi, Moka and Bellary firkas have been included in the Mysore State. Now, an award has been given by Mr. Justice Misra with regard to Bellary district, but he has not been in the full know of things. Therefore, this award has given rise to a controversy between the two peoples. If there is any bilingual area the division of which has to be decided by means of a plebiscite, it is the area comprising these firkas. Therefore, we have to recommend to the Government of India the appointment immediately of a boundary commission or commissions to settle the boundaries between the Andhra State and the Mysore State on the one hand and between the Andhra State and the Madras State on the other.

“Then the question of location of the new High Court has been left to be decided by the Chief Justice and the Governor of

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the new State. The choice of the location of the capital of the Andhra State was left to the Andhra legislators. But the question of locating the High Court has been taken away from the power of the Andhra Assembly and left in the hands of the Chief Justice. When this question was discussed in the meeting of the Andhra legislators, some of our Andhra leaders, especially the hon. Member T. Viswanatham, assured us that the question of location of the High Court and other offices would be left to the Andhra Assembly. At that time, we pointed out that certain pacts had been made between the Congress and their satellites for a most unreasonable distribution of offices in the Andhra State. Now, that the question has been left in the hands of the Chief Justice, my suspicion is whether it has been so done in order to help the Congress and others who have made secret pacts among themselves. I want to point out that the new Andhra Assembly alone should have the power to decide such issues. The provisions of the Bill should be modified accordingly.

“Coming to the division of assets and liabilities, I now want to refer to certain general points which are agitating our minds. We all know why the Andhras have been fighting for the formation of the Andhra State. It has been a longstanding grievance that the Andhras have not been given their due share in the development of society, economically and otherwise. In the matter of development of industries and electricity and the establishment of technical and educational institutions, it has been a longstanding grievance that the Andhra area did not receive due and proper attention at the hands of the composite Government, when compared with Tamil Nad. That was the reason behind the struggle for the formation of the Andhra State. Now that we are going to have the Andhra State and that we are going to separate from the composite State, our suspicion is whether the same old treatment is meted out to the Andhra State or whether the Hon. Chief Minister is coming forward to do justice to the Andhras. When I look at the Bill from this angle, things are not very clear. The one question that strikes anyone reading the Bill is, on what basis the division of assets and liabilities has been made in this Bill. There have been various Committees and memoranda with reference to the division of assets and liabilities between the two States. There are the 1949 Partition Committee Report, the memorandum of the Madras Government to Mr. Justice Wanchoo, and the Wanchoo Report. I want to know from the Hon. the Chief Minister whether the division of assets and liabilities envisaged in this Bill is based on the Partition Committee Report or on the Wanchoo Report or on the suggestions of Sri Rajagopalachari and the Madras Government. If it is based on the suggestions of the Madras Government, what are they? After going through the provisions of the Bill, the only conclusion I have to arrive at is that each item of asset has been divided according to a different principle which goes against the interests of the Andhra State. For instance, with regard to the Central Road Fund, the proposal is that it should be divided on the basis of population. No doubt, it is a very good and democratic principle. But the same principle

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has not been adopted with regard to other items of assets. When we take up the question of dividing the stores, the proposal is that they must go to the area in which they exist.

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“ The harm done to Andhras cannot be fully explained with these facts. As far as my information goes, the amount in the Central Road Fund is about Rs. 2,000. I do not know if that is the correct figure. If there is a bigger amount, I will be glad and I wish it was a bigger figure. Now the Central Government have come forward to divide this Rs. 2,000 on the basis of population. With regard to the division of the stores, the proposal of the Government is different. I have no information as to what we are going to get under these heads. We also do not know details about the stores, where they are situated and so on. Unless we know full details with regard to these matters, we will not be able to know whether justice has been done to us and whether there has been proper sharing of assets and liabilities. I understand that the majority of the stores and the majority of articles are lying in areas other than Andhra and that the new Andhra State is not going to get its proper share as a result of the division of the stores.

“ Then I will pass on to the division of the Government Press. We are going to form a new State with a clean slate, without any major or minor industries and without much capital also. The proposal with regard to the division of the Government Press is understood to be this. It is said that the machines cannot be divided and so only the book value has to be taken into account. This proposal will appear to be absurd even to a raw man and a man in the street. It would have been proper and just if the Madras and Central Governments had come forward with proposals to establish a new Press for the Andhra State. They should have adopted a more just course. It is not right for the Central Government to say that the book value must be taken into account. They should have come forward to give us at least that amount which will be necessary for the establishment of a Press. Instead of doing that, if they say that the book value has to be taken into account they will be doing us grave injustice as naturally the book value will be very low indeed. Similarly, there is a proposal . . . ”

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member Sri Virupakshayya will now speak.”

* SRI S. C. VIRUPAKSHIAH :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to support the motion before the House. I welcome the motion. The Bill as it stands is intended to carve out the undisputed Telugu areas from the State of Madras. Andhras have striven very hard to achieve their State and I congratulate them on their success in achieving their goal. They now have the fruits of their efforts and the present Bill itself is a result of their efforts. I welcome this Bill on another account also. In this Bill, the principle of redistribution of the State on linguistic basis is admitted to a certain extent, though curtailed by many limitations. The Congress has accepted

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the principle of redistribution of the country on a linguistic basis a long time ago. But after the attainment of Independent, so many limitations and hesitations were witnessed, and as a result of these, progress in this direction has been retarded to a very great extent. Though the principle has been conceded, eminent people have expressed various doubts. Some of them are genuine and many of them are not. I think many of them are illusory. Since the present formation of the State has come about out of historical and political accidents, redistribution of States is quite essential. Especially in a democratic country, it is but essential for the common man to know and understand the proceedings of the Legislature and the steps taken by the Government to meet the various problems. If this is to be possible, proceedings in the Legislature must be conducted in the regional language. This could take place only if there was redistribution of States on linguistic basis. This principle has been conceded to a certain extent in this Bill.

“ As I first referred to, there is another reason for my welcoming this Bill. The Kannadigas are now divided and are found scattered over various States. I think they are now found in about five States. The Dhar Committee and other Committees had realized this fact and had come to the conclusion that the unification of Karnataka was more essential than the unification of any other linguistic part of the country. The merger of a few taluks of the Bellary district in Mysore at the present moment forms the nucleus for a Samyuktha Karnataka in future. Sooner or later it has to come. It is on this account also I welcome this Bill. The Central Government could have thought that this was an opportune moment for bringing all Kannada-speaking areas in the various States together, like merging the areas that lie contiguous to the State of Mysore. But somehow or other they have taken a very cautious step. They have deferred the consideration of this question by a High Power Committee which they have promised to set up on an All-India basis. I hope the Central Government will take early steps to establish this High Power Committee to decide these controversial questions. Otherwise, the people will get discontented and unrest would prevail in the country. It is but fair that the question of redistribution of States is taken up as early as possible.

“ A lot has been said in the course of the discussion about the Bellary district. It has proved to be the bone of contention. It is true that there must be an end to such controversial matters. When Justice Misra had come, enquired into the matter and given his Award, the matter should not be reopened. There should be an end of all controversy over this matter so that a state of friendliness and neighbourliness might prevail. The remaining Kannada-speaking areas in the residuary State should also be merged in Mysore as early as possible. As a case in point, I can easily cite my own constituency of Kollegal, which is surrounded by the State of Mysore. Socially, commercially and otherwise, it has more affinity with Mysore than with the Madras State. This place is about 112 miles from the District Headquarters at Coimbatore. At times, one

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would feel that he is in a foreign place. When we consider these things, we can easily appreciate the difficulties of the district officials in administering this taluk. Such places must be merged in Mysore, as they are adjacent to Mysore. If one happens to travel in those parts, he will easily appreciate that these parts are only a chip of the old block of Mysore. That being the case, it is but fair that all such enclaves are merged in the State of Mysore as early as possible. On this question, there is no divided opinion. So let us recommend to the Central Government that such enclaves may be merged in the State of Mysore as early as possible. Otherwise, the cry for help from the poor people in the interior places will not be heard effectively by the authorities. At present I do not blame the authorities on this account for negligence of their duties. Because, I know it very well that it is physically impossible for them to devote time and attention to the problems of this taluk which has been backward for a very long time.

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“ If you happen to travel from Coimbatore to this town, you will find the correctness of what I have said.

“ I wish to add another fact here. The Kannadigas have already been reduced in number by the exit of 1.25 per cent of their population from the residuary State. There will be a further reduction now in their number. Though I am sure my Tamil friends will give due consideration to the claims of the Kannadigas in the residuary State, I think it is but fair that the aspirations of the Kannadigas to join Mysore are respected as expeditiously as possible.

“ Sir, I find in this Bill a great lacuna. There is no indication anywhere about the immediate formation of boundary commissions. It would have been better if we had had such a provision in the Bill itself so that the question of border areas be decided and such areas be merged in the three neighbouring States of Madras, Mysore and Andhra as is found reasonable and just. Once the linguistic redistribution of the States takes place, then all these controversies will disappear. In this Bill, a statutory time limit ought to have been set for the formation of boundary commissions so that all controversial matters may be set at rest as early as possible for a free and good administration of all the three States which have been friendly and neighbourly all these years. That will ensure the prosperity of India as a whole and I wish my Andhra friends good luck and God-speed in all their efforts. Thank you very much.”

* SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the formation of the Andhra State has become a certainty and we are to part within a few months. At the time of parting, I would submit, we should part as friends. Our friendly relationship dates as far back as the reign of the Pallavas and the Vizianagaram dynasty and we have been mutually imbibing all the good customs, traditions and laws of old of each other. During the troublous days of the British Raj, we joined hands with each other and helped the cause of freedom with the result that we are now enjoying freedom. But now, when the Andhra State is going to be formed, there are certain difficulties which face us. People have been making accusations

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on either side. Some of the Tamils are saying that the Andhras want too much, and that they unjustly want a few of the Tamil taluks. The Andhras also say likewise about the Tamils. There may be much cause for bitterness. But this is an occasion when we should forget all things and should decide to settle all our differences in an amicable and friendly manner. With regard to certain taluks in Chittoor district, Sir, the cause of the Tamils in my opinion is just and right because I know personally that there are more Tamilians in those taluks than Andhras. I am sure that any boundary commission or commissions that may be set up to go into the question of boundaries will examine the question more fully and will give an independent and impartial decision. In this connexion, I may point out that the Tamil language and the Telugu language are the same in that both are Dravidian languages and represent the Dravidian culture. I have read and am told that Telugu is of an independent origin and has not had its roots in Sanskrit. So also is the Tamil language. From geographical contiguity also, we can find that Andhras and Tamils have been very good allies. Sir, when we part, there may be occasions for both the States to fight with the Centre for getting back certain powers which were originally ours. In such a case, the Andhras may depend upon the Tamils for their sympathy and support. The ideal of any State should be the establishment of a true democracy. When I say true democracy, I mean that we should have autonomous powers. The governance of a country should be in the hands of the people but we find, as matters stand and as the present law stands, that the deciding voice and the power to direct things in many matters emanates from Delhi. I think in course of time we should put up a strong fight with the Centre to get back our original rights and powers. As I have said, in the matter of establishment of autonomous States there may be many hardships and many difficulties. In this matter, one State cannot stand by itself. It must have alliances with other States. Naturally, the Tamils will be friends of Andhras in this respect. They must form a free and voluntary partnership in all such matters with the residuary State and they must work hand in hand.

“ With regard to financial questions, I am sure they will be decided by a committee or committees to the mutual benefit of both the States. There is, however, one thing which struck me when I read the report of Mr. Wanchoo. In the report, it was suggested that in the Andhra State Prohibition should be scrapped for the sake of more revenue. I think the Andhras will bear the suggestion in mind and scrap Prohibition. I say this because I know that in the Madras State, Prohibition has not been a success and we have been losing a lot of revenue on account of this. If there is no Prohibition in the Andhra State, they will have more money.

“ With regard to the capital, Sir, I do not want to enter into a controversial subject. It is my belief that the proper place for locating the capital would be Visakhapatnam because from time immemorial from the time of the Vizianagaram dynasty—that place has been having a direct influence upon us and had been the seat of a great and ancient culture. It has also got a natural harbour there.

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I do not know why they have selected Kurnool. Probably they have certain reasons for selecting Kurnool. I understand it is only to be a temporary Capital. This is only a suggestion I put forward. It is open to them to take it or leave it.

“Sir, on the eve of the formation of the Andhra State I wish them all luck and success. I hope they will attain complete autonomy for their State in the near future.”

* **SRI K. KOTRA BASAVANA GOWD** :—“మాన్య సభాధ్యక్షరే, నాను ఆంధ్ర స్టేట్ బిల్లున్న స్యాగతినుత్తేనే. ఏకందరే ఇదు అవరూ బహు వర్షగళుండ ప్రయత్నిసిన ధల. అల్లదే ఇదు ఇన్నితర భాషావార ప్రాంత రజనీగే తళహది యాగిరువుదరిందలూ మత్తా నమ్మ బళ్ళారి జిల్లయ కలవు భాగగళు అదరే జోతేగే మ్మేసారూ ప్రాంతక్కి నేరువుదరిందలూ నాను ఇదక్కి సంతోషి పడుత్తేనే.

“ఆదరే ఈ విషయవల్ల ఆంధ్రురూ గడిగళ సబాధవాగి తాళుద ధోరణిగే నాను బహు విషాదగోళ్ళువేను. అందరే బళ్ళారి జిల్లయ అదరల్లి బళ్ళారి తాలూకా మత్తూ ట్రాన్ విషయవల్ల అవరూ అనుసరినుత్తిరువ మార్గక్కి ననగే బహు ఆశ్చర్యవుల మత్తూ ఆకలూకవుల ఆగుత్తదే. ఏకందరే అవర మార్గవు బహు స్వార్థపరవుల, అన్యాయవుల మత్తూ నిరాధారవుల ఆగిదే. బళ్ళారి తాలూకానే విషయ నిషాద మత్తూ నత్సనాన అంశగళేనోబాదన్న అరియదే ఇతర మాలిగళల్లిరువ ఆంధ్ర నదస్యరూ బళ్ళారి ఆధరూ ఊళుద మోతుగళన్నే మాతనాడువుదు బహు తప్తు అభిప్రాయవాగిదే. అవరూ అలియ విశారవర్న అరియదే ఊగే మాతనాడువుదు అవర యోగ్యతేగే కాందు బర బహువేంబ భితియూ నక ఇల్లదే మాతనాడుత్తిరువరు.

“బళ్ళారి జిల్లయ విషయవాగి ఈగ నువరూ 30 వర్షగళ హిందినిద ఇల్లియ వరగే 5 సారి తిఎవోనసెలగాదే. అప్ర యాప్రవేందరే, 1 ధారనమితి, 2 కేళ్ళరే నమితి, 3 J.V.P. నమితి, 4 పార్సన్స్ కమిటి రిపోర్టు, 5 డి. వాంజూ రిపోర్టు.

“ఈ 5 నమితిగళల్లి ఆంధ్ర ముఖండరాద శ్రీ పట్టాభి సేతరమయ్య, శ్రీ గోలపాల రెడ్డి ఇన్నూ ముంతాద ముఖండరూ భాగవహిస్వరల్లదే కన్నడిగరూ ఇల్. ఇవరే బళ్ళారి జిల్లయ 3 తాలూకాగళ వినగే (ఆవనాని, ఆలూరు మత్తూ రాయదుర్గ) లుళుదల్లి తాలూకాగళు అవిషాదాన్నద కన్నడవేంతలూ ఆ మూరూ తాలూకాగళు మాత్ర వాదాన్నదవేంతలూ తిఎవోనసిద్దారే. ఈ యల్లా విషయగళన్న తిళుదల నక బళ్ళారియ ఆంధ్ర ప్రమాబరూ ఆంధ్ర నమితిగే తప్తు అంశసంఖ్యగళన్న కలట్టు డిల్లియల్లియ ఆంధ్ర మంత్రిగళగల ఇతర అవర ముఖండంగే బళ్ళారి తాలూకాన్న Temporary suspension నల్లి యాడువంతే మాన్య ప్రధాన మంత్రిగళూద శ్రీ డవకరలూల్ నేకరూరవగి బత్తాయ పడిసిదరు. ఆంధ్రర ప్రియరజీయ మేరగే శ్రీ నేకరూరవరూ ఒబ్బు యే కలూర్టు డిల్లియన్న కళుహినువుదాగి ఊళు కలనీగే డి. L. S. Misra రవరన్న కళుహిసకలట్టరు. డి. విశారవరూ లుళయ పక్షగళన్న మత్తూ కన్నస నగ్గరే రికార్డుగళన్న నోడి బళ్ళారి తాలూకా పూర కన్నడవేందు తిఎవోనసిదరు. ఊగిదు బళ్ళారియ ఆంధ్రరూ ఈ రితి అనావశ్యకవాగి విపరీత యల్లా తరకద అందోలన మాడువుదు నమగే బహు ఖేదవగుత్తదే. ఈ అందోలనక్కి భాగవహిసరువ బళ్ళారియవర జరిత్రియన్న నోడిదర అవరల్లి నిషాద బళ్ళారి యవరూ ఒబ్బుబ్బరూ నక ఇల్లు. మిక్కివరల్లరూ బళ్ళారిగే వ్యాపార ఇతర లుడియగ గళుండ జీవన మాడువుదక్కాగి బందు నేలసిరువరు. ఇంథవరూ మాడువ అందోల నక్కి నకారవవరూ ఎడ్యు గణనీ మాడువుదు అనావశ్యక. ఆంధ్రరూ కేళువ బళ్ళారి తాలూకానే మోకే, రూపన గుడి మత్తూ బళ్ళారి ఈ ఫిర్యాగళల్లి ఆంధ్రర డన సంఖ్యయూ ఊళ్ళాగిదేందు కలగుత్తిరువరు. ఇదక్కి నకారవవరూ భాషావార డనసంఖ్యయ 1931 మత్తూ 1961 నో రిపోర్టుగళన్న నోడిదర జేన్నాగి

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తియ్యారు. అవర కేళువ ఈ మారు ఫిరకాగళల్లి కేళడ 60 గింత జెబ్బా గి కన్నడ దనరు, 30% కడమి తెలుగురు ఇద్దారే. బళ్ళారి టాన్‌నల్లి సక floating population బెట్టర కన్నడిగురు ఆంధ్రురు సమనాగిద్దారే. టిగిద్దొ బళ్ళారియ మారు ఫిరకాగళు (వీలెక, రూదన గుడి మత్తు బళ్ళారి) న్ను ఆంధ్రకే సేరిన బేకా యిల్లవే Plebiscite కూడ బేకేందు కేళువ మాతెనిల్లి స్వల్పవ్రూ సక అథవిల్లి. ఈ విషయనాగి ఈగ కలవు దివనగళ టిందే శ్రీ కేలబ రెడ్డియవరు బళ్ళారియ మత్తు ఇతర M. L. A. గళూ ఆ మారు ఫిరకాగళన్ను మేసూరిగే సేరినద్దారే 2 నే కురుక్షేత్ర బళ్ళారియల్లి నడయబేకాగువుదేందు కేళువద్దన్ను నీలడిదరే ననగే బకు ఆకూళవ్రూ మత్తు ఆక యావ్రూ ఆగుత్తుదే. ఇంథ దనాబ్బారియల్లి వ్యక్తిగళు ఇంథ అసంభవనాద మూజన్లు ఆడిద అదర అథ ఫలితాం వేనెందు అరివిల్లి టిగే మాతనాడిద్దారే. ఇంథ మాతగుళన్ను నాను లుగనాగి టిండినువేను. 2 నే కురుక్షేత్ర నడనెల్లికే కన్నడిగురు జేడిగళేందు భావిసరువరూ అథనా సకారవే ఇల వేందు భావిసరువరూ ననగే తియ్యదాగిదే. ఈ రితియ కార్యక్రమ మూతుగళన్ను అవరు టింతేగమకూళబేకేందు నాను లుగనాగి నూజెనుత్తేనే. లుదాకరణిగాగి జేళబేకాదర జూనవేటియల్లి T. B. Project న కలకే 10-20 నామిర మంది తెలుగురూ, అరవరూ సక బండు ఇద్దారే. అవరన్ను గణనగే తేగదుకూండరే జూనవేటియన్ను సక ఆంధ్రకే సేరినబేకాగబుదు. ఇంథ మూతుగళు బకు అసంభవనాదవుగళు. పూంత రజనయ పూరంభకేనే ఇబ్బె రూడ్తు ఆకయింద నీతి, రితి ధర్మగళన్ను తూరదుదన్ను నీలడిదరే ననగే ఆంధ్రురు అంధావస్థ యల్లిద్దొ కాగే కూలువుదు. ఈ విషయదల్లి ఆంధ్రురు సక్కు, నీతియన్ను మరతిరువరు. ఇంథ దువర్గావన్ను అనుసరిదరే అవరగే ముందే కుభవు దీరయ లారదేందు నాను సంకూజ వడుత్తేనే. నమగే ఆంధ్రుర టిందు కళ్యయ సక బేడ మత్తు నమ్మ టిందు కళ్యయ సక ఆంధ్రుగి సేరిగకూతుదిల్లి. ఇదే నమ్మ మాబ్బ ధ్యేయ. ఆదకారణ ఇన్నుముందాదరు ఇదువరగే అనుసరిద తప్త మూగవన్ను బిట్టు బళ్ళి మూగవన్ను టిడిమ అవర జూన పూంతకే కుభాకయగళన్ను సవరింద వడయలి.

“నమ్మ తాలూకెన విషయనాగి టిందేరడ మూతుగళన్ను జేళ బయసుత్తేనే. జూడ వర్షద మళయ అభావడింద ఫలగళు కేసేరదయిద్దరింద నమ్మ సకారదవరు రేమిషన్ కూట్టెరువుదన్ను నీలడిదరే టిందు కళ్యగ రూ, 5 రింద రూ 100 వరగే రేమిషన్ బందిదే. ఈ రితియ రేమిషన్‌నింద యూరిగే అనుకూలనాగువుదీ తియ్యదు. అదరల్లి ఇంథ కవ్వకలదల్లి గ్యూరీజెన్‌నల్లి భూకేందాయవన్ను వనూలు మూడలు జూరటిరువుదు బకు తప్తు. ఆదకారణ జూన వనూలిగయన్ను నలూరు తింగళ అవడి కూడబేకేందు నాను సకారకే కేళకూళువేను.

“నమ్మ సకారదవరు జూన Loan float మూడువరేందూ నాను కేళుతిద్దేనే. ఈ లీలెనన్ను నమ్మ జిల్లియల్లి కేళబారదేందు నన్న అభిమాయ. షకందర సకార దవరు నమగే జూన యీలెనయన్ను షనూ మూడువుదిల్లివేందు ననగే భరవనయదే. ఆదకారణ అదన్ను నిలి సబేకా.

“ఈ నాల్క మూతుగళంద నాను నన్న భావణవన్ను ముగిసి కుళతుకూళువేను.”

VII.—HALF-HOUR DEBATE *RE* TAKING OVER OF THE MADRAS ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Let us now take up the half-hour debate. 6 p.m.
Two hon. Members want to take part in the debate. Hon. Ministers, Sri Sankara Reddi and Dr. Krishna Rao will reply to the debate. I have allowed ten minutes for the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, five minutes for Sri Kalyanasundaram, ten minutes for the Hon. Minister Dr. U. Krishna Rao and five minutes for Hon. Sri N. Sankara Reddi.”